1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

Governor had only a general power of co-ordination and discipline. These departments, directed from Istanbul, included the administration of justice: a field in which Turkish law had by 1900 developed far beyond its Shara' origins. The composite and ill-coded civil Majalla, a mass of *ad hoc* legislation, and a body of French commercial law had been adopted. The resulting codes were not only imperfectly drafted and full of anomalies, but too often quite unsuited to 'Iraqi needs. The Courts which administered them represented a comprehensive and not ill-considered system spoiled by the delays and abuses in its practical working, by its exclusive use of a foreign language, and by the underpaying of the judges. The privileged position of foreigners, protected by their outdated and resented Capitulations, was assured by special arrangements in both civil and criminal matters.

Abundant work for the Courts was provided by the department of Land Registry, or Tapu. It had been inaugurated in 'Iraq by Midḥat Pasha as a land-settlement and stabilizing measure; but in unsurveyed agricultural lands, largely in immemorial tribal possession and far from conforming to the official view that 'unalienated State lands' were at Government's free disposal, the Tapu system could do little save create new disputes, bestow rights on parties powerless to exercise them, and destroy the best elements in the shaykh–tribesman relationship. The immense practical difficulties of land settlement in 'Iraq were unrealized, and the whole essential background of cadastral survey and social control was lacking.

In the field of medicine and quarantine the standard of Turkish doctors (rarely Turkish by race) was low, their assistants and inspectors were untrained, their equipment was inadequate. The medical services, accustomed to rely on mission hospitals and dispensaries, were scanty in the towns and non-existent outside. Educational services made a slightly better showing, though standards were everywhere below those of the foreign or foreign-inspired mission schools. Free primary schools, well organized on paper, existed at most towns, and secondary also at the larger. Industrial schools had been founded at Baghdad and Baṣra, and higher theological learning was available. The military educational system was distinct. The sons of civil notables and high officials went to Istanbul to complete their Turkish education, and a few sons of the greater shaykhs to the Tribal College. The teaching profession was ill reputed and unpopular, its methods primitive.

These do not conclude the list of the 'imperial' departments. The Public Debt administration, handling selected revenues on behalf of the European creditors of the Porte: the local offices of the Régie Co-intéressée who held the monopoly for the manufacture

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

battalion, and to the men's return to the sluggish pauperization of Ba'quba.

The Education branch, founded and first inspired by Major H. E. Bowman, was faced with the problem of providing schooling for the youth of 'Iraq in the absence of funds, buildings, books, equipment or teachers in a tithe of sufficient quantities. At a pace always disappointing, but the fastest financially or functionally practicable, primary schools aiming at fair standards were opened to a total of seventy-five by the end of 1919. Fifty-six of these taught in Arabic, eleven in Turkish, seven in Kurdish, one in Persian. The new-founded Teachers' Training College could supply but a part of their urgent needs, and the scale of secondary classes, confined to the three principal cities, was regrettably humble; nor was the country-wide penetration of 'politics' into the schools, thus early, less to be deplored. Means were found to reopen the Law School, and a commercial and a technical school. The many privately-conducted Mullās' schools, archaic in method, scope, and equipment, continued to produce a bare literacy in their thousands of pupils; but the temptation to multiply inferior Government schools was resisted, and the teaching of English almost wholly withheld in spite of a general clamour for it. Upon the desirability of girls' schools, Muslim opinion was at first divided; five, all primary, had been opened by the first weeks of 1920. The schools of the local Christian and Jewish minorities and those of the foreign missions were fostered by support and subsidy; some of these were of high standard. Some archaeological work was carried out by R. Campbell Thompson at Abu Shahrayn (Eridu) in the spring of 1918, and more under H. R. Hall at Ur and elsewhere in 1919.

Printing-presses were operating at Najf in 1918, at Sulaymaniya in 1919, and in Baṣra, Baghdad, and Mosul from the occupation of these places. Newspapers in English were published at Baghdad and Baṣra, in Arabic at those cities and Mosul, in Turkish at Kirkuk, in Kurdish at Sulaymaniya.

The great increase of goods entering 'Iraq in 1918–19 taxed the young Customs administration of C. R. Watkins and Major A. G. H. Sievwright to the utmost. It was due to cessation of imports into north Persia from Russia, to the increase of 'Iraq's own spending power, and to the general depletion of stocks by war interruption. The Indian rupee, now the universal currency of 'Iraq, supplied an adequate medium; and the rising volume of civilian traffic could be handled easily by the now fully developed Port of Baṣra, which as such came into existence under Colonel J. C. Ward in the autumn of 1919 and was soon afterwards transferred to the Civil Administration. The Railways, when at their greatest

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

jects for which local pride was clamouring. Municipal administration was restored to the Turkish pattern of an elected Council and a nominated Mayor, but with the abolition of many of the old abuses and sinecures. As modern and exact cadastral town plans were prepared for all towns and many villages, largely based on specialized air photography, property rights were better established, with good effect on urban enterprise.

Educational and medical services were well conceived, and showed substantial advance on Turkish levels. They felt their way haltingly from the capital and cities to the villages, but were cramped as ever by shortage of funds and of trained teachers and practitioners. Over educational policy there was conflict of views between those, including A. L. F. Smith the British adviser, who felt that teaching must above all be sound and based on moral values, and those to whom more and more schools, however staffed and with whatever standards, were the panacea for backwardness. If it remained, indeed, a generation later, a reproach of the 'Iraqi intelligentsia against the British that too little was done during this decade for education, the defence must be that there could be small value in mass-produced literacy, even if money, buildings, equipment, and teachers had been available, which they were not. Meanwhile the Education Ministry was the first to be by 1923 all-'Iraqi in executive authority. Government primary schools multiplied from less than 100 to more than 200. Graduations from the few secondary schools, in the three cities, began in 1924. Evening classes were formed for the training of secondary-school teachers—the first phase of the later Higher Training College. Primary-school Teachers' Training Colleges were maintained in Baghdad for men and separately for women: in the former some students were specially trained for teaching in rural schools, but to a standard later found inadequate. There was as yet no girls' secondary education, other than private. Government boys' secondary schools were few; post-primary technical schools existed at Baghdad and Mosul only. An American secondary school for boys was opened, under Dr. Colin Staudt, in 1921, another for girls in 1925, both in Baghdad; the former, like Van Ess's school at Basra, was an enterprise of the Dutch Reformed Church, the latter of the United Mission of Mesopotamia. The College of Al al-Bayt, to which the King was devoted and for which the Awqaf Ministry found funds, offered a course only in Islamic theology. The Law School flourished. The immense archaeological wealth of 'Iraq was not neglected. Excavation was carried out in 1922 and later by British and American learned bodies at Ur, at Kish, and at Tirkalan near Kirkuk. The finds of the German excavations at Babylon were distributed. The Baghdad Museum,

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

European dress was
291 ever more generally adopted in the larger towns, and spread significantly to urbanized tribesmen. Among upper-class women, though the veil was still almost universal among Muslims, Western
556 clothing was worn increasingly. The desire for material progress was reflected in the eagerness of the rich to acquire motor-cars, gramophones, and the toys and amenities of Europe; but inability to pay for these gave rise to demands for limitless credit.

466 Interest at the International Labour Office in conditions among 'Iraq's industrial workers led to some answering efforts to produce suitable legislation; but the smallness of this class in an un-industrialized country made European criteria and standards largely inapplicable. The first seeds were sown, however, of a social interest in labour matters.

744 To the whole community and to urban society in particular with its still prevalent poverty and low purchasing power the Government's Health and Education services contributed valuably. The former improved its quarantine and pilgrim services, multiplied its countryside dispensaries, improved its specialist institutes, and dealt well with the cholera epidemics of 1927 and 1931. It was significant that out-patient attendances, less than 750,000 in 1921, had more than doubled by 1926 and quadrupled by 1930. In response to foreign purchasers' outcry, the Health Department imposed measures of cleanliness in the date industry. In 1927 it founded the Royal Medical College; this, a medical school of good standards, took at once a high place in 'Iraq's higher and professional education. A School of Pharmacy had existed since 1922. The Government adhered during these years to a number of international conventions on medical as on many other matters.

• 871 The 'Iraqi schools seemed to foreign observers at this period—and indeed at others—to lack something of the best spirit of education. There was criticism of lax discipline, uncritical self-flattery, a worship of modernity and materialism; politics pervaded too many of the schools, always in the form of a crude xenophobia eager for street demonstrations. Nevertheless, an educational system grew and multiplied its facilities, fought for budget allotments, developed an Inspectorate, codified its Regulations. A Hygiene Directorate was formed in the Education Ministry, later
[562] greatly to develop. The year 1930 saw the first Government secondary schools for girls; the days of Muslim hesitation over female education were almost over. For boys the secondary period was prolonged from four to five years, three 'intermediate' and two 'senior'. The dispatch of students for higher education abroad grew commoner. Technical education remained unpopular: it did not lead quickly enough to the goal chiefly envisaged, a Govern-

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

ment appointment. A School of Agriculture, founded hastily and inefficiently in 1928, was perforce discontinued for lack of pupils two years later—to be afterwards refounded. A Health Officials' school, in connexion with the College of Medicine, in 1932 replaced the existing Pharmaceutical School: a year later a Nursing school was inaugurated, to which a midwifery section was to be added in 1936. The training of rural teachers at the primary teachers' stage was discontinued; but its necessity, urged by the American mission which visited 'Iraq under Dr. Paul Monroe in 1932, was later to be recognized. The provisional plan of 1923 for higher teacher-training was also discontinued, for later amendment. Another American secondary school, this time a Jesuit enterprise, was founded in Baghdad in 1932, and accepted pupils of all faiths. Government secondary schools by 1930 numbered fifteen, primary nearly 300. The theological college of Al al-Bayt closed its doors in 1929. The Law School, 'Iraq's nearest approach to a university course, kept all its popularity and produced civil servants as well as advocates. Separate Assyrian schools taught little but their own brand of religion. Kurdish schools, thirty in number by 1930, included one intermediate, and one for girls. Annual grants were made to the schools of the minority communities and foreign missions; their standard, not least in European languages, was generally higher than in those of the State. About 8 per cent. of all Government revenues was at this time spent on education. Lionel Smith retired from the Advisership to Education in 1930, and was not replaced.

Greater sums than this were needed for the services of security: a fifth or more of Government income maintained the 'Iraq Army, and nearly a sixth the Police Force. Since the Levies, reduced to two battalions in 1928, were used decreasingly on operations, and the Royal Air Force, reduced from eight squadrons in the period 1922 to 1926 to four in 1930, was soon to be no longer available for internal operations, reliance must be on the Police and the 'Iraq Army; no pains, therefore, were spared to augment and improve these. The Royal 'Iraqi Air Force came into existence in 1930, with five light aircraft. The Army, to which Great Britain contributed a grant until 1932, was developed with the close guidance of a British Military Mission which, increased from six officers in 1921 to forty-six in 1930, was then reduced to twenty-six. It trained its own officers at military and staff colleges, and by the dispatch of selected men to Sandhurst or Quetta. Recruiting in the period 1926 to 1932 was voluntary, numbers sufficient, training and maintenance adequate, discipline good. The strength of the Army by 1932 approximated to two brigades. It was unfortunate that its most frequent operations, against Kurdish insurgents, were in

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

same was true of Public Works and of Posts and Telegraphs. Tainsh after fifteen years as Director left the Railways, handing over to Ward who combined the post for three years with the Port Directorate. Wheatley left the Adviserships to Communications and Works early in 1937.

The relation of Yasin Pasha to the British Embassy, where Sir Archibald Clark Kerr had succeeded Humphrys in March 1935, were close and cordial. The Census Department was strengthened, that of Publicity represented a development of the old Press Bureau. The Courts, with their complement of British judges under the Agreement of 1930, were well maintained. The general desire for a more comprehensive educational system could be met only in part. Primary and secondary schools showed a limited development, with increased use of borrowed Egyptian teachers, and the beginning of book publication by the Ministry. Technical education, studied by visiting foreign experts, advanced little. The university project stood still. The Higher Teachers' Training College was reopened in 1935. A Directorate of Female Education was formed in 1934, but abolished next year. A Rural Teachers' College—a recommendation of the Monroe Report—was established in 1934 at Shaṭra on the Gharraf, and later moved to Rustumiya outside Baghdad. An Elementary Teachers' College for Women was opened at Diwaniya in 1934, but did not survive. The College of Pharmacy was founded in 1936. The schools of the minority communities and of the missions, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, flourished. The proposal for a public school on the British pattern was not yet realized, and a British adviser to the Minister of Education ceased to be employed. German teaching increased. School books in use became increasingly nationalist and xenophobe in tone. Military instruction was first given in the schools in 1935, and grew thereafter to be a popular feature of school life, with a developed Youth Movement in uniform.

Ancient sites of 'Iraq continued each winter to attract foreign archaeological missions. Valuable excavations were carried out by the representatives of university, museum, or other learned bodies, American, German, British, French, and Italian, from 1933 to 1939 at sites in northern 'Iraq—Gawra, Nineveh, Saydawa, and Khorsabad: in the Baghdad area, at Khafaja on the Diyalā, and at Seleucia: and in the centre and south at the Sumerian cities of Warqa and Larsa. A setback to this activity was caused, indeed, by the intervention in 1933 of the Shi'i Minister of Education, who produced a draft Antiquities Law calculated by its one-sided severities to discourage all future excavation; but under the Hashimi Ministry an improved draft was accepted, and work could proceed in reasonable conditions.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

exchanged between Nuri Pasha and Mr. Churchill: but no important practical results could be expected from this move, which at best would serve to secure for the country a better place at the Peace Conference, and meanwhile to establish its leadership in the Arab world. Public opinion, which showed neither enthusiasm nor dismay at the declaration of war, and felt little resulting sense of obligation, was unlikely to support its Prime Minister to the extent of sending 'Iraqi troops abroad; nor was the Army yet capable of foreign operations. This condition improved gradually with the Allied successes in North Africa, visits were organized for 'Iraqi officers to the Libyan battlefields, and the British Mission under Major-General G. Bromilow, successor to Major-General Waterhouse, did what it could to restore Army morale and comradeship. Meanwhile, in default of fighting, 'Iraq's contribution to the Allied war effort was not negligible; camp sites and lands were offered without rent, buildings were surrendered under requisition without demur. Economic controls were introduced under British advice; the management of river traffic and the Port was shared or surrendered, and the widest military use of the railway system accepted. Priority was given to Army man-power requirements, the telegraph and telephone system placed at military disposal, and grain supplies provided.

Difficulties of procurement, and the economic unbalance which was afflicting 'Iraq at this period, prevented the pursuit of such major projects as had been intended. Nevertheless, urban development could proceed—not least in the capital—suburbs could be planned and partly built, and a beginning could be made with working-class dwellings to replace insanitary labyrinths of mud and petrol-tin hovels: indeed, the war years witnessed great changes in the aspect of the towns. Municipal institutions themselves were multiplying and developing; and, small as were the resources of most corporations, the total of their revenues tripled during these five years. By a pleasing gesture the Lord Mayor of London presented, with suitable fraternal messages, a chain of office to the Amin al-'Aṣima. The Health services continued to develop. Doctors working for the Administration and private practitioners increased in numbers, recruited mainly from the Royal Medical College in Baghdad. British specialists, who had served the country and their science now for twenty years, still played their invaluable part. In Education also the period was far from one of stagnation. A revised Public Education Law was passed; primary, intermediate, and secondary schools—boys, girls, and mixed—all rose in numbers, and many new private schools were founded. Pupils sent for higher studies abroad were few during the war, but the flow recommenced strongly in 1944. A

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

secondary boarding school on European lines was founded in Baghdad in 1941, the King Faysal College. Mosul Technical School was reopened in 1942, and another in Kirkuk in 1945. The Queen 'Aliya Institute for the higher training of women teachers was founded in 1945, and a higher Engineering College in 1942; but a College for Physical Education, opened in the latter year, survived only four years. The Institute of Fine Arts, with separate faculties of Music, Painting, Sculpture, and Dramatic Art, was founded in 1941. Professor H. R. Hamley served as Adviser to the Ministry of Education—the first after a lapse of ten years—in 1942–3, K. J. Ritchie in 1944–5, and C. H. Scaife of Cairo University thereafter for two years. The Department of Antiquities was fully active; it carried out excavation at Tall 'Uqayr, fifty miles south of Baghdad, in 1940–1: at Dayr on the Yusifiya Canal in 1941; at the 'Aqar Quf in 1942–4; at Tall Ḥasuna near Mosul in 1943–4: at Ḥira near Kufa and Tall Harmal near Baghdad in 1945. The greatest part of these works was carried out by 'Iraqi scholars, who had acquired high qualifications.

The Administration itself, gravely shaken by the events of 1941 and the strains which followed, and confronted with new tasks and new temptations, lapsed perceptibly both in efficiency and integrity. Neither ministerial unity nor the administrative grasp required to correct this weakness was forthcoming, and resulting conditions led to renewed complaints against 'the old gang' by critics who pressed for the infusion of new blood into the Cabinet, preferably their own. The middle and later periods of the war gave, indeed, no scope for military coups, the incitement of tribesmen, or inspired strikes; but they permitted all too much of the personal intrigues, the intemperate mutual criticism, and the irritated frustrations of normal times.

The inspiring war news from Libya and Tunis in the winter of 1942–3 was greeted by public holidays and the renaming of streets, and extinguished the lingering hopes of Nazi sympathizers: hopes which the capture in July of three German officers, dropped near Mosul by parachute with a Kurdish guide, did nothing to restore. The improved atmosphere led to a turn of ministerial policy towards increased indulgence to the internees of the 'Amara camp and Rhodesia; the resulting releases, considered sadly premature by the British Embassy, were followed by the reinstatement in public functions of men known for violent anti-British and anti-Hashimite sympathies.

Useful non-political work had been done meanwhile by a Committee of Senators and Jurists, with Drower and Edmonds as advisers, on an amendment to the Constitution designed to correct some evident present inadequacies. The Committee met early in

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

its educated class should have made the 'Iraqi press both high in quality and great in influence. It was, in fact, superabundant in quantity, with dozens of ephemeral sheets appearing and vanishing, and it was written not infrequently with point and humour; but journalism had on the whole, it seemed, failed to attract the best minds and brains of the country, and as a profession was ill regarded by the public. With rare exceptions[1] inconsistency was habitual, and the selection and presentation of news capricious and unskilful and lacking in Western—or even Egyptian or Lebanese—technique. A news-service was scarcely attempted, and mere political rhetoric and the wearisome use of outworn phrases took the place of fact, analysis, or sober comment. Broadcasting from Radio Baghdad, which after 1951 used the new and fully modern transmitting station of Abu Ghurayb, offered daily a ten-hour Arabic, a three-hour Kurdish, and a one-hour or half-hour English programme. The service, though still uneven, had improved materially in recent years in editing and in reliable audibility. It was aided by some of the best among 'Iraqi writers, and was rich in its Arabic musical programme; but frequent administrative changes had affected its quality and continuity, and many listeners preferred to hear foreign stations, notably London, Paris, and the *Sharq al-adnā* station of Cyprus.

The educational system operating in 1950 represented, with whatever shortcomings, the considerable outcome of a sustained and meritorious effort. An immense work lay ahead: but the period of slow and difficult beginnings lay behind, and ground was being yearly gained. The faults of 'Iraqi education were those of superficiality, impatience, indifferent standards, and the persistent infusion—unchecked by legal prohibitions—of 'politics' in the schools. Its virtues were those of genuine enthusiasm, the use of modern techniques, and much improved teaching and supervisory staffs. Many and better school buildings were, it was hoped, soon to follow. Instruction was free at all levels, the governing Regulations modernized, and primary education in theory compulsory. The High Council of Instruction, representative of all the higher institutions of learning, assisted the Minister and his Directors-

[1] The best of the papers were two or three independents, notably *al-Zaman* and *al-Sha'b* and those associated with the political parties. The latter were the moderate *al-Ittihad al-Dasturi*, *al-Akhbar*, and the evening *al-Ḥawadith* of the Constitutional Union Party: *al-Umma* and *al-Nabā*, of the Socialist Party of the Nation; *Liwā al-Istiqlal*, of the Independence Party: the near-Communist *Ṣadā al-Ahali*, of the National Democratic Party: and the *Jabha al-Sha'biya*, of the Popular Front. These papers appeared in 1951 to be fairly stable and self-supporting and, being party organs, relatively immune from Government suppression. Provincial daily papers included three (and often more) each at Baṣra and Mosul, and others at Sulaymaniya and Kirkuk, in the languages there spoken; they attained a fair standard.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

871 General in policy and co-ordination. Female education had secured equal rights with male; of 6,000 primary teachers in the Government schools, nearly a third were women, and a similar proportion among the secondary and higher teachers. Between government and private (including foreign) schools of all grades not less than 200,000 children were being educated, a figure annually and rapidly increasing. A small remnant only of the Jewish schools remained in existence; that of the Alliance Israélite had been closed. The Tafayyudh Society, founded in 1919 as a popular non-political educational body, continued its work to combat illiteracy and maintained its printing-press. Students still enjoyed important exemptions and privileges in their military service obligation.

874 Vocational schools covered technical instruction, domestic science, agriculture, public health, and police duties. The teachers' training facilities had been increased in 1949 by additional training classes instituted at a number of existing secondary schools, and standards had been raised. The university, in spite of repeated

873 expert recommendations, was still an unrealized project; but higher education was available at the Law School, the Engineering College founded in 1942 and broadened in 1951, the Royal College of Medicine with its associated schools of Pharmacy and Nursing, the College of Agriculture, the College of Arts and Sciences founded in 1949, the Institute of Fine Arts, the College of Commerce and Economics founded in 1951, the Royal Military Academy and Royal Staff College, and the Higher Police Training School. Considerable numbers of pupils attended European or American universities; these would increase with the greater funds which were soon to become available and with the development of oil company programmes of technical and scientific training. Public libraries existed at every liwā headquarters.

172 The department of Antiquities had continued to develop its admirably enriched Museum (which it was soon to exchange for more adequate premises), to deal with the learned world, and to conduct or supervise the excavation of ancient sites. In the period from 1946–50 expeditions from the department were active at Tall Abu Shahrayn, near Ur: on the lower Diyalā: in the Arbil plain: in the neighbourhood of Chamchamal and of Sulaymaniya: and at Ḥadhr near Sharqaṭ. Expeditions from American seats of learning—Chicago, Pennsylvania, Harvard—dug at sites in the district of Kirkuk, in those of Chamchamal and Baradost in Kurdistan, and near 'Afak on the middle Euphrates, and a mission of the British School of Archaeology in 'Iraq excavated for three seasons at Nimrud. The work of these scholars of whatever nationality drew, with great goodwill, the attention of the academic world to 'Iraq's archaeological wealth and present fortunes. Both

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

smaller urban and semi-urban communities, the country is essentially rural and dependent upon agriculture. There are, it is estimated, some 35,000 square miles of cultivable land, only twenty per cent of which is cropped in any one year. The country is watered by the two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, and is amenable to great irrigational projects. Some large-scale and subsidiary irrigation schemes have been developed and others are under way. Until capital is available, however, to bring much more water to much more land, large areas of potentially arable and pasture land will continue in a state of unexploited fertility.

With the exception of a minority who dwell in the towns and smaller urban communities, the population is sparse and much of it mobile. Out of a total population of some 5,000,000 roughly twenty-two per cent live in urban areas, forty per cent in settled rural communities, thirty per cent in semi-settled rural areas, and eight per cent are nomadic.

The educational and other social problems and needs of the country can only be appreciated if it is realized that Iraq is predominantly rural in character and modes of life and, minor industries and developing oil projects apart, is dependent upon agriculture for its existence. There is a certain amount of industrial activity connected with drink, tobacco, soap, vegetable oils, foot-wear, bricks and a few cotton ginneries, but, generally speaking, the industrial capacity remains undeveloped. Oil output, however, is rapidly increasing, and the royalties from this industry have already made a valuable contribution to badly needed capital works.

Racially, the inhabitants may be roughly divided into seventy-seven per cent Arabs, seventeen per cent Kurds, three per cent Jews, the remainder being Turcomans, Yazidis and Assyrians. The number of Jews has, however, decreased by recent emigration into Palestine. The inhabitants may be further divided into distinctive religious groups, ninety-three per cent being Muslims, three per cent Jews, slightly less than three per cent Christians, the remainder being of miscellaneous faiths. Despite these marked religious differences, a feature of the public educational system of Iraq is its great religious toleration.

Generally speaking, although the inhabitants are distributed into distinctive racial and religious groups, they seem to share some important characteristics which, to the educator, are hopeful and significant. A visitor to the country cannot but be impressed with the great natural courtesy, friendliness and open-hearted hospitality invariably shown by people of all ranks and groups. In addition to these socially valuable characteristics, many of the people exhibit a quickness of response which, in those who have passed

3: Clark 8-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

872 645 embody previous legislation and regulations into the General Education Law of 1940. Under this law it was directed that 'The Ministry of Education shall undertake to create a nation sound in body and mind and character'. So far as primary education was concerned it was provided that it should be free, that the age of admission to the primary school should not be less than six and that the period should be six years. It was also decreed that 'Primary education shall be obligatory and shall be carried out in the districts assigned by the Ministry of Education when necessary facilities are available. Pupils' guardians infringing this [681] Article shall be liable to a fine not exceeding three dinars'.

871 645 By this time the administration of education had been highly systematized and it remains so in the hands of the Ministry of Education centred in Baghdad. A feature of this administration is its very high degree of centralization, with the Ministry of Education controlling and supervising the most minute details both of curricula and expenditure. The Minister of Education himself appears to exercise a greater control of detail than in other countries. Under the Minister primary education is directed by a Director-General of Primary Education. In each of the fourteen provinces of Iraq there is a Provincial Director of Education who is, in reality, the agent of the Ministry of Education, and is in no sense a local official responsible to a local authority.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

872 658 Although legal provision for compulsory primary education was made in the General Education Law of 1940, as a reality it does not exist in any part of Iraq. Over the whole of the country out of an estimated total of 750,000 children of primary school age, not more than 175,000 attend primary schools.

Shortly after the passing of the General Education Law of 1940 an attempt was made to apply its compulsory primary education provisions in two of the provinces. Apparently, however, the declaration of compulsory education in these two provinces failed in its object. The main reasons for this failure were the poverty [464] of the majority of the parents who were unable to dispense with the labour of their children on the land, the mobility of part of the population which was still in a semi-nomadic state, and the [362] inability to persuade teachers to live in remote villages where housing facilities and other amenities are most inadequate. It is also stated that, these economic and social reasons apart, other [696] factors such as the unwillingness of the local courts to inflict the legal penalties for non-attendance and the active opposition of

3: Clark S-5 (1950)1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

powerful local landowners operated as effective obstacles to compulsory schooling.

Despite this initial failure of a modest attempt to apply compulsory education in certain parts of the country, enlightened opinion in Iraq is strongly in favour of educational development. Because of the economic, political and social obstacles which will have to be overcome before a real approach to universal compulsory education can be made, few if any of the country's educators feel that this desirable objective is likely to be achieved in a short time. As educators, however, and for educational reasons, they are anxious that the practicability of achieving a realistic approach towards compulsory education should be soberly investigated. This enlightened minority are likely to be assisted in their demands by pressure of nationalist opinion, which sees in the development of education a means of spreading national culture and national sentiments among the people.

There are other important reasons why the time is ripe for assessing the ways and means by which compulsory education can be approached. Although Iraq, like many other countries is, economically, passing through a difficult stage, rapid development in thought and ways of life is taking place. The country is at present at the cross-roads between traditional and modern or western civilization. Change and development, in one direction or another, seem to be the order of the day. It is for this reason that a contemporary Iraqi educator urges that the present time 'affords a unique opportunity for making a good start in education'.

Before, however, considering the practicability of making a 'good start' or at any rate a new start in the direction of compulsory education, consideration must be given to the educational needs of the country at its present stage of development and the extent to which these needs are being met by the existing system. It will then be possible to consider, in the light of prevailing economic, political and social conditions, ways and means of achieving further advance.

3: Clark S-5 (1950)1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

higher levels of education but, in general, the basis for most of them is acquired in the primary school. Before considering, therefore, ways and means of advance towards compulsory primary education for all children, it will be desirable to ascertain to what extent these general educational needs are met in the existing primary schools system. If it should be found that the primary schools do not adequately meet these needs, it may be wise to advocate qualitative reform in primary schooling before ambitious quantitative advance.

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

In addition to these general educational needs, and partly arising from them, there are two outstanding needs which are connected with the economy of the country and the transitional stage through which an important section of the population is passing.

The Need for Realistic Rural Education. The first outstanding need is that of realistic rural education. In a country whose future development and prosperity is so bound up with the necessity for agricultural improvement, it is important that the schools of the countryside should relate their activities to rural pursuits. As the following extract from the report of the Monroe Commission, issued in 1932, indicates, there is nothing novel in directing attention to this vital educational requirement in Iraq:

> Agriculture as a science is comparatively recent. As a science it has not yet entered Iraq to any great extent. Here it is still predominantly a rude craft; most of those who live by agriculture use primitive methods of farming and stock-keeping of generations or centuries ago. If these out-worn methods are to be replaced by better ones the change must be worked through education, and largely through the village school. . . .
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> If the work of the village schools is to be determined by the actual and present needs of the people they are set up to serve, then they should first of all become a means of teaching the people how to make a better living from the land. The village school should provide more vital instruction and training in improved agricultural methods; manual arts; the importance of native industries; the proper breeding and selection of seeds. . . .

With certain modifications, due mainly to the efforts of the Directorate of Agriculture, these observations of the Monroe Commission are as valid in 1950 as they were in 1932. They will need to be taken into account at a later stage of this study when the type of advance towards compulsory education in the countryside is being considered.

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The Need for Realistic Tribal Education. Apart from this great need for the right type of village school for the forty per cent of the population who are living in settled rural communities, there should be educational provision related to the special needs of the thirty-eight per cent of the population living under semi-settled or nomadic conditions and participating in a partial or fully tribal life.

Here again attention was drawn to this important educational need by the Monroe Commission which stated that 'practically all tribal members are illiterate with the exception of some sheikhs who were sent early in their lives to towns or had a special mullah or sayyid, who lived with the tribe, to teach them reading the Koran and writing'. Again with certain modifications, due to the efforts of a minority of tribal heads who have provided their own school buildings, the comments of the Monroe Commission apply equally to conditions in 1950.

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The Monroe Commission, mainly on the advice of an Iraqi educator who had made a special study of the educational needs of tribal adults and children, stressed the great importance of both preventive and constructive education for tribal dwellers during the difficult period of transition from the nomadic to the more settled agricultural life. They advocated novel educational devices to meet these special educational needs, including the provision of peripatetic teachers-cum-social advisers who would ultimately promote realistic rural schools which would provide primary education for the children and simple community centres for the adults.

These then, are the general and the outstanding educational needs of Iraq. It is now necessary, in so far as these relate to children of primary school age, to enquire to what extent they are being met in the existing primary schools system, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

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ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS

Although the main obstacle to further educational development in Iraq is that of finance, and although it is difficult to see how sufficient money will be forthcoming for this and other social purposes until fiscal and land reforms are undertaken, there exist other obstacles to educational progress which are more of a political and administrative nature.

Lack of Continuity in Educational Policy. An undoubted obstacle to the pursuance of a consistent and steady development in the direction of compulsory education is a lack of continuity and positive direction in educational policy. This seems to have obtained for a long time. It is a somewhat delicate matter to discuss but, looking back over the history of educational administration since the formation of the first Iraqi Government, one is confronted with very frequent changes of Minister of Education, less frequent but still too frequent changes both of officials and in the organization of the Ministry of Education, and lack of consistency in policy with constantly fluctuating emphasis on this or that aspect of educational development. One type of school or administration may be here one year and gone the next. This is particularly true of devices for the training of rural teachers; institutions have been started and then discarded before an evaluation of their real usefulness has been possible.

These changes of policy and of personnel have been due to both political and sectarian factors which it is not possible fully to discuss in this investigation, but of which those concerned with them or affected by them are only too well aware.

Circumstances of this kind tend to produce even in the best officials and educators a sense of frustration. They also make it extremely difficult for the most able Minister of Education to promote a well-founded policy with any assurance that it will be carried out by his successors.

The Problem of the Administration of Education. Administration of the public services in Iraq is generally characterized by its high degree of centralization. This was perhaps inevitable when Iraq as an independent nation was still young and had neither the time nor the resources to work out new arrangements whereby the localities might participate more in the business of government. Further, a somewhat 'tight' central administration was part of the process of ensuring national unity.

Educational administration provides no exception to this practice of centralization. Curricula are laid down by the Ministry of

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Education, as are textbooks and the conduct of examinations. The central authority trains the teachers, appoints and dismisses them. Salaries are paid from the central treasury. Apparently no Government school or training institution has funds of its own, and the schools appear to have little freedom in the choice of books and equipment. The daily time-table of the school is determined by the national Primary School Regulations. As has been stated earlier, there are Provincial Directors of Education, but these are direct employees of the Ministry of Education and are their local representatives.

Such a highly centralized system was, of course, indispensable in the early stages when administrative talent was at a premium and when local government institutions did not exist. But it is accompanied by disadvantages and may, in the long run, as schools increase and the amount of detailed central administration grows, have the adverse effect of hindering the Ministry of Education from concentrating on their essential task of promoting a broad policy of national educational development. From conversations with senior officials of the Ministry of Education, the writer gained the impression that, through sheer pressure of daily detail, they were prevented from devoting sufficient of their time and talents to consideration of major issues.

This degree of centralization in a capital city which is so distant from many of the provincial centres and schools, and under which schools must inevitably be treated *en masse*, is also possibly a contributory factor in maintaining the over-rigidity which applies in many of the schools. Schools which are required to work in detail according to central regulations may fail to develop individuality and personality.

The Problem of Differing Regional Needs. Another feature which suggests that the time is arriving when it will be necessary to decentralize some of the administration of education is that, although the total population of Iraq is relatively small, there exist great regional differences. The needs of urban Baghdad and its surrounding province differ greatly from those of the nomads in Muntifiq and Northern Mosul. The problems of the Marsh Arabs of Amara are not those of the Kurds in Erbil and Sulaimaniya.

National unity is an imperative consideration, but it would be unfortunate if the requirements of conformity to a centrally conceived educational system had the effect in any way of conflicting with regional cultures and distinctively local ways of life. If this were so it might, in the long run, not serve the cause of unity.

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ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

SOCIAL FACTORS

Alongside these economic and administrative problems are a number of social factors which inhibit educational development.

Illiteracy and Health Problems. For many years it is likely that illiteracy among the adult population, and the state of the public health, will constitute obstacles to the extension of primary education, especially in the rural areas. The reasons for this are obvious. Parents who are themselves illiterate and living at a low standard of life are not easily persuaded that schooling is a worthwhile substitute for the work of their children. Neither are they able to provide in their homes those standards and values which, if the training of the schoolroom is not be negatived, are such necessary reinforcements to public education. Similarly, the prevalence of epidemic and endemic disease, together with inadequate sanitation, also contributes to a major health problem which must be taken into account in attempting to ensure regular school attendance.

Yet while obstacles of this kind exist, they are diminishing. The Public Health Service is developing slowly but surely, and one has only to see a doctor at work in a remote rural area to appreciate the devoted service which is beginning to contribute to a solution of some of the health problems. Again, although illiteracy and poverty are not the best friends of education, one has only to visit remote little village schools to realize that some of the poorest parents are making sacrifices to send their children to school.

Before compulsory education can be achieved, however, even assuming that the money for it will be forthcoming, a vigorous attack on adult illiteracy will be essential. To this end, what is needed in the rural areas is a type of school which, in addition to meeting the needs of the children, provides in a practical and non-academic fashion realistic fundamental education for the parents. The teacher training institutions would make a most valuable contribution if, quite apart from training the future teachers to attend to the needs of children, they also initiated them into the more practical techniques of teaching illiterates the fundamentals of better living.

The Position of Women and Children. Another obstacle to educational and social development which is often quoted is the position of women in a society which is predominantly Muslim. Traditionally women are discouraged from taking part in public life, and this attitude is bound to be reflected in education.

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But this obstacle can be exaggerated. As a glance at the figures showing the growth of primary education in Iraq indicates, the proportion of girls to boys attending primary schools is not high, but their enrolment is steadily increasing. Although most of the large urban schools are single sex schools, Iraq has the distinction of having many co-educational village schools. The growing number of kindergartens are co-educational. In all the institutions of higher education young men and women work together.

The emancipation of women in Iraq still has a long way to go, but convincing signs of it are evident. It would, nevertheless, be a considerable advance if the Ministry of Education were to encourage the recruitment of a number of women to the staffs of the boys' primary schools. From visits to many Iraqi primary schools it is evident that the standards of the women teachers in matters of personal cleanliness of the children, care and decoration of the school premises, general decorum and pleasant social conduct are higher than those of their men colleagues. Their influence in boys' schools would be most salutary.

The position of children is, of course, difficult when parents, especially in the rural areas, are dependent upon the labour of even very young children. Yet an increasing number of poor parents appear to be sending their children to school. It would be a great inducement to more and regular school attendance if means could be devised of providing free midday meals for some of the children, especially in the village schools. At one of the more modern primary schools in Baghdad attractively cooked and served midday meals are provided, but this is a school attended mainly by children from comfortable homes where the parents can afford to pay for this service. In the rural areas, however, simple food is not expensive, cooking devices and service are cheap, and it should be possible to provide free meals for the needy children at relatively low cost.

It should be noted that effective child labour legislation does not exist in Iraq. Until the time comes when such legislation can be enacted and enforced, compulsory education will be most difficult to apply.

Tribal Organization and Mobility of Population. But the most formidable obstacles of all are those related to tribal organization and mobility of population. There are two particular sets of problems, those of the tribes who are still in a nomadic state, and those of the people who are in the transitional stage of semi-settlement. Between them, it is estimated that these nomadic and semi-settled peoples number nearly 2,000,000 persons, roughly 300,000 of whom are children of primary school age.

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Some eight per cent of these tribal dwellers are still nomadic, and educational arrangements for them will obviously be most difficult to apply. People who are on the move, even if this be in regular seasonal cycles or over more or less fixed areas, are never susceptible to organized education. Even in countries where compulsory education laws have been in effect for several years and where school accommodation for the entire child population exists, it is not easy to make arrangements for the schooling of the children of mobile persons such as caravan and boat dwellers. Clearly, in a country like Iraq where the problem of mobility of population is of much greater magnitude, the conventional type of fixed village school is useless for these peoples. Some of them are not averse to education, and, especially in places where a sheikh is anxious that his own children shall be educated, there is an opportunity for providing educational facilities which would be shared by the other children of the tribal group. It is suggested, therefore, that the time is opportune for giving serious consideration to the training of peripatetic teachers of the kind recommended by the Monroe Commission in 1932.

The more urgent problem of tribal education relates to that majority of the tribal peoples who are in the stage of transition from nomadism to a more settled agricultural life. People who are passing through this transitional stage present great problems but also great opportunities to the educator. They are alleged to lose some of the simpler virtues of people who are forced to submit to the strict tribal laws and codes while they are still wandering in the desert. Be that as it may, they undoubtedly need practical education in the amenities of the more settled life, particularly in matters of health, child care under primitive housing conditions and agricultural practice. Their children also need schooling. These educational needs are becoming more acute because, as has been indicated in a previous chapter when discussing the problem of land tenure, the tribal peoples are losing their former wholesome relationship with the sheikh, who is becoming more of a landlord interested in the produce of his tenants and less of a leader with a responsibility for their welfare.

These needs of the tribal dwellers, therefore, and especially those who are in the semi-settled stage, present a formidable challenge to the Iraqi educator. What is probably needed to meet their peculiar requirements is a team of peripatetic teachers who could travel with the tribes while they are on the move, and who could establish simple schools-cum-community-centres in the places where the tribesmen and their families are gradually settling. So far as is known, devices of this kind are as yet untried; it would be well if a few young men and women of ingenuity and a practical

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876 turn of mind, and preferably from the tribal areas themselves, 166 could be specially trained as intensely practical teachers and then appointed to establish pilot projects of tribal education.

871 Some people with whom these possibilities have been discussed 619 are not optimistic about such attempts to meet the educational needs of the tribes. They maintain that the tribal dweller has a strong suspicion of anything that smacks of Government interference and that he would have nothing to do with publicly-provided education. There is, however, another point of view. The writer and an Iraqi inspector of schools were sitting in a Bedouin guest tent one evening recently, together with two sheikhs, one of whom is reputed to be amassing land for his own purposes and the other who is the more liberal minded son of a sheikh who once established two schools. The following conversation was heard and, for what it is worth, is quoted verbatim:

First sheikh: 'I hear that you have offered to provide a school building if the Government will provide teachers.'

Second sheikh: 'Yes, I would like a school for my son Silah and for the other boys of his age.'

First sheikh: 'If your people become educated they will be demanding more rights. You will be laying up trouble for the future.'

Second sheikh: 'I want my people to be educated so that they may become better human beings. The future is with those who are educated.'

There is, of course, always more than one point of view about educational matters. The point of view of the second sheikh is expressed in another way by an Iraqi educator who writes, 'The problem which the Iraq Government faces as regards the tribes, the solution of which should form one of the main civic aims of education in Iraq, is the broadening of the outlook and allegiance of the tribesmen from their narrow tribal limits to a national horizon'.

000 These then, are some of the economic, political and social problems which must be taken into consideration before any ambitious advance in the direction of compulsory education can be contemplated. It is only against this background that the realism of possible solutions to present educational difficulties can be judged. But these problems are not new and, despite the obstacles which they constitute, definite quantitative progress in the field of primary education has undoubtedly been achieved in recent years.

The next step must be to consider the practicability of making

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must establish a horticultural plot, and on his arable land must maintain a balance between summer and winter planting. He must also devote sufficient land for stock pasture.

(4) Each settler must, from his own resources, level, hedge and provide irrigation ditches for his own plot.

(5) A co-operative society is formed and run by the holders. So far some 1,026 holdings have been established in the Dujaila area, and the total population of adults and children is between 12,000 and 15,000. At present there are only two schools with a total roll of 300 children, but the parents appear to be pressing for more educational facilities and two new schools, of good design, are in process of construction. The Provincial Director of Education, who takes a keen interest in the scheme, has plans for a distribution of primary schools throughout the whole area to avoid long travel by young children, and also wishes to establish intermediate and secondary schools situated in a central village which is about to be built. He is anxious that the upper forms of the primary schools shall develop a rural bias and that the intermediate and secondary schools shall have 'agricultural streams'.

It is perhaps early to judge the success of this scheme, which has been in operation for only four years and is still in process of development. From carefully checked evidence, however, it appears that the holders, most of whom were previously landless cultivators living at a low subsistence level, are making an average income of between £300 and £400 per annum. The sponsors of the scheme also maintain that, whereas the average grain produced from one dunum of land on privately owned farms in the neighbourhood is 100 kilos, the average from the same area in the Dujaila district is 250 kilos. From admittedly superficial observation the tenants would certainly appear to be living a richer and more robust life than their neighbours who remain landless cultivators. Many of the tenants have provided themselves with houses which, by local standards, are comfortably designed and furnished. The men have an appearance of dignity and independence. Indeed, it is claimed that 'you can always recognize a Dujaila man in the streets of Kut because of his confidence and bearing'.

The scheme has, possibly, certain deficiencies in that the tenants, apart from improving their holdings by tree planting, hedging and irrigation channels, are required to pay no rent. True they make a certain contribution to the public purse through the sales tax, but it may be wondered how wise it is to encourage an attitude of 'something for nothing'. Public services are badly needed in Iraq and even new land settlers should realize that they must be paid for. It is understood, however, from discussion

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875 teaching which are now appearing in the top classes of the primary schools suggest that the Iraqi teacher is by no means rigidly conservative in method, and is quick to apply new techniques when his eyes have been opened to them.

During the last year or two, however, possibly because of the need to find money to cope with the additional numbers of children who are presenting themselves for admission into primary schools, it has apparently been difficult to finance courses for teachers. It is to be hoped that the time will soon come when it is possible to organize courses for serving teachers, not only in specific subjects, but also of a more general nature. The necessarily brief and restricted training which has had to be provided for many of the teachers in the past means that the educational horizons of some of the serving teachers are not as broad as they might well be. If it is still felt that the cost of many residential courses of a general nature cannot yet be met, consideration might be given to the possibility of taking short courses to the teachers themselves in the teachers' clubs which exist up and down the country.

THE ADVANCE OF EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVE IN THE PROVINCES

871 645 In addition to these evidences of advance in the schools and among the teachers, there are also signs of certain trends in the provinces which, as will be seen later, may be highly significant as aids to the ultimate implementation of plans for the promotion of compulsory education.

The Beginnings of Local Educational Administration. Until very recently, the impetus for educational development in Iraq has, as already pointed out, come from the centre. The Ministry of Education has not only supervised the national system but has also provided most of the schools and most of the money. It has also taken the administrative initiative. There are now indications, even in the remoter provinces, that the people are wanting to have their share in educational development. If these trends, as some of the people in the provinces maintain, are real evidence of the beginnings of a public concern about education they are, indeed, most important.

One hopeful sign is that, despite their very limited powers and the fact that certain of the Provincial Directors of Education are afraid to take any initiative without previous sanction from the Ministry of Education, some of the Directors are exhibiting considerable energy and initiative in promoting local educational advance. In some of the provinces the Directors complain about

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the lack of suitable school buildings and the fact that they have to refuse children admission to schools, but pessimistically maintain that no progress can be made because the Ministry of Education cannot or will not find the money for them. But others are showing real enterprise and, in co-operation with the Provincial Governor, are building new schools with money obtained from local contributions.

In one province, through the initiative and persistence of an energetic Director of Education who has that commendable combination of qualities desirable in an educational administrator, namely a sense of vocation and a love of children, five well-designed new primary schools and three similar intermediate schools are being built at the time of writing, mainly out of local contributions. In the same province the Director of Education has built a new and well furnished kindergarten school, and has provided a central playing field and changing rooms through money collected locally. When he came to the province some four years ago there were twenty-eight primary schools. There are now fifty-four and the number will soon have increased to sixty.

Local initiative of this kind is of great significance. It suggests that the way to advance is not only through schemes that may be produced in the Ministry of Education itself, but also through the energies of people on the spot who know local needs and the ways and means of meeting them. This provincial effort also suggests that, despite limitations imposed by the central budget, money for educational development on no modest scale can be obtained from local resources when there is local initiative and enterprise. True, local voluntary contributions towards the building of new schools are not in the long run the best means of financing local educational provision, because such sources may not be regular and may dry up with changes in the circumstances of the charitable donors. Ultimately, such contributions will need to be supplemented by more regularly and equitably distributed local taxes. But these attempts to meet locally some of the costs of the educational provision are likely to be important future means of financing educational advance at a greater pace than appears to be practicable by reliance on central exchequer sources alone. Extra taxes are of course never popular but, when additional monies for educational purposes have to be found, it may prove that the levying of local taxes by a local administration is likely to prove less obnoxious to the psychology of people of tribal origin who have an inherent dislike of distant central government.

Awakening Educational Consciousness in the Localities. After travelling through most of the provinces of Iraq, and discussing possibilities

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871 of educational advance with many people in the localities, the writer is persuaded that there is a growing consciousness of the need for more primary schools. In province after province, and village after village, there were local notabilities who had provided school buildings from their own resources and others who were prepared to find the money for schools and furniture if the Ministry of Education would provide the teachers.

871 876 Significantly, some of these local people complained about what they described as 'absence of reality' in the work of the primary schools. They maintained that, while they are anxious that the children should learn to read and write, they would prefer that they were also taught in the schools how to handle tools, how to keep healthy, and how to till the soil. One parent complained that 'present day education is divorced from life and only goes skin deep'. He quoted an instance of an urban trained teacher who was giving a hygiene lecture in school, complete with a vivid illustration of the intestinal system, but was oblivious of the fact that flies were crawling over the faces of some of his listeners! The few women with whom it was possible to discuss educational affairs urged that cookery and homecraft should play an important part in the education of the older girls in the primary school. One farmer's wife said: 'I would prefer that my daughter learned how to sew rather than do geometry in school'.

871 Enough has perhaps been said by now to indicate that, although Iraq still has a long way to go before any realistic attempt to bridge the gap between the existing primary schools system and a complete system of compulsory education will be fruitful, changes of an economic, social and educational nature are taking place which give cause for sober optimism. It is now possible, in the light of these advances and changes in attitude and public opinion, to consider ways and means of promoting further advance in the educational field.

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CHAPTER SIX

A POLICY OF ADVANCE TOWARDS COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN IRAQ

So far in this study an attempt has been made to ascertain the main educational needs of Iraq, to evaluate recent developments in primary education both quantitatively and qualitatively, to demonstrate the enormous obstacles to further advance and to illustrate, from examples, the ways in which some of these obstacles are being overcome. It is clear, however, that while some circumstances and conditions exist which suggest that the time for further advance is propitious, such advance will only be possible by the adoption and persistent implementation of a policy which takes into account both the desired objective and the obstacles which still have to be surmounted. The obstacles are clear enough. The desired objective is also clear, always provided it is appreciated that quantitative advance is not in itself sufficient. What is needed is not only a policy of advance which will get more children into school, but one which will ensure that children enjoy forms of primary education which are related to their individual needs and to the special needs of Iraq.

Before considering possible lines of advance towards compulsory education for all children in schools of the right type, it is necessary to call to mind the magnitude of the task quantitatively. With a potential primary school population of 750,000 children which is rising daily, with not more than twenty-four per cent of this number now attending school for periods of varying duration, with a national budget which is barely balanced, with a country which is badly in need of other public services, it would appear to be unrealistically idealistic to assume that any effective advance towards universal compulsory education could be achieved over any short period of years. The present total education budget would have to be more than doubled to provide primary education for all children at existing standards, some 15,000 additional teachers would have to be trained, and a sum of money which it is not possible to estimate would be required for capital expenditure on school buildings.

The magnitude of the problem, however, is not new to the Ministry of Education. In 1946 a special committee of the Ministry drew up a 'Ten-Year Plan' in which it was suggested that, provided

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871 645 185 certain administrative reforms were introduced into the Ministry itself, and provided a vigorous educational drive was made, it should prove possible within ten years to achieve a total school attendance of fifty per cent of all children of primary school age. Under this plan it was hoped that it would be possible to train 400 additional teachers in the first year and provide for an increased school attendance of some 12,000 children. At this rate of progress some 42,000 additional children should have been attending primary schools by the end of 1949. Actually the total increased primary school attendance between 1946 and 1949 amounted to some 34,000 children. This increase took place despite the fact that, apart from some not too satisfactory measures for the short-term training of teachers, the reforms advocated by the special committee of the Ministry of Education were never put into operation. In other words, the recent quantitative advance appears to have resulted not so much through any 'Ten-Year Plan' as because of continued public pressure.

871 185 There is no doubt that this public pressure for more schools will continue and that, unless a more vigorous policy of coping with the demand is initiated, quantitative demand will continue for some years to outstrip primary school provision. Indeed, when one looks back over a period of years and realizes that, whereas in 1931 there were not more than 35,000 children attending primary schools, there are now 175,000 children, there is little cause for any immediate pessimism so far as numerical advance is concerned. It is for this reason that some Iraqi educational reformers maintain that, on the assumption that quantitative development goes on at the same total pace, i.e., another five-fold increase over the next twenty years, compulsory education of a type could be achieved by 1970. It is not possible, however, to predict the future rate of progress even in general terms because, although quantitative growth has been rapid since 1930, it cannot go on beyond a certain point until some of the economic, political and social obstacles already outlined have been solved. Although numerical development has increased five-fold since 1930, that rate of increase will undoubtedly drop when the children of the relatively higher income groups are in school and when the Ministry of Education is confronted with the task of meeting the needs of the children of very poor parents and those who are living under semi-settled or nomadic conditions.

If these suppositions are valid, the broad lines of a policy of genuine advance towards compulsory education become clearer. First, steps must be taken to cope with the present unsatisfied demand for primary education. Secondly, consideration will sooner or later have to be given to the measures which will need to be

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taken to provide both for the children whose parents cannot yet afford to send them to school and those who are living under partly or entirely nomadic conditions. Equally important, preparations will need to be made for ensuring that qualitative accompanies quantitative progress. If real advance towards compulsory education is desired, some of these measures will have to be taken immediately; others will have to be developed more gradually. Consideration must, therefore, now be given to a policy of advance towards compulsory education which includes both immediate and long-term measures.

A SHORT-TERM POLICY

COPING WITH EXISTING DEMANDS

The most immediate necessity is that measures should be taken to meet the demands of parents who wish to send their children to primary schools. Some advocates of educational advance do not recommend this immediate action, urging that the more important task is to improve the quality of the existing schools. It is doubtful whether this view could be sustained: it would provoke further parental disillusionment and deprive many children of a fair start in life.

An attempt should, therefore, be made to ascertain the extent of this immediate problem by asking every Provincial Director of Education to give, from his local knowledge, details of the number of children in the province who would attend school under existing conditions if accommodation were available for them, the number of new schools needed and the extra teachers required. The results would probably be surprising in that they would demonstrate a public desire for education in the provinces of which the Ministry of Education may not be entirely aware.

These needs should be met forthwith and financed by a special allocation from the central budget in the next financial year. The extra teachers could be found partly by abandoning uneconomic rented premises which are wasteful of teaching staff, but mainly by 'stepping-up' existing teacher training provision as an emergency measure. Some new buildings would be necessary but many of these, at any rate in the smaller towns and villages, would be provided voluntarily from local resources. In the larger towns, consideration should be given to a suggestion made by an Iraqi economist that new school buildings could be provided through

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000 the floating of local public loans which could be partly redeemed by the gradual release of the large sums of 'dead money' which are at present being spent on rented premises which cannot be used economically.

In other words, what is needed at the present time is a vigorous administrative gesture which would assure the public that the Ministry of Education is controlling the existing pressure for primary schools rather than being jockeyed along by it.

REFORM OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

871 But perhaps before the Ministry of Education can itself promote
185 immediate measures of this kind with the vigour required,
645 consideration will have to be given once more to two major administrative reforms which were advocated by the special committee appointed to draw up the 'Ten-Year Plan' in 1946.

The Minister as a Trustee of the Public Educational Interest. Until very recently the advent of a new Minister of Education has tended to be accompanied by abrupt changes and reverses of educational policy, and sometimes by changes in official personnel. This is certainly not calculated to assist that continuity and persistence in educational policy which is so essential at the present time.

Some maintain that this unfortunate tendency has been due to the intrusion of party politics and sectarian interests into the Ministry. If this is true, it should be emphasized that a Ministry of Education, while being responsive to sound educational opinion, should always endeavour independently to attach itself to national educational policy which is free from these non-educational considerations.

It is probably nearer the truth to suggest that these fluctuations in educational policy are due as much to the influence of the individual opinions and plans of the Ministers themselves. It is perhaps natural in a young and rapidly developing country that Ministers should wish to leave their own impress on the country's educational affairs. It is not desirable, however, that they should have the unrestricted power to do this, and in any event they should be required to justify proposed changes before men who have had long experience of education and educational administration. It is refreshing, therefore, to gather from conversations with some of the recent holders of this important office that the time may be approaching when the Minister tends more and more to regard himself, not as one who is entitled to control

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educational policy in the light of opinions and schemes based on his own inevitably limited educational experience, or by considerations of his own political group or sect, but as a trustee of the educational interest of the whole country.

The Formation of a National Council of Education. It was also suggested by the special committee referred to that a means of assisting successive Ministers to pursue a consistent policy of educational advance would be the creation of a National Council of Education which would be composed of Directors-General of Education, the Deans of Institutions of Higher Education, representatives from other Ministries whose co-operation is essential in educational progress, representatives appointed by Parliament, and other leading personalities in the country. It was suggested that 'the principle function of this National Council of Education should be to ensure that educational policy is well-founded and that there is stability in its application'. In other words, the National Council of Education would be a continuing body pledged to an agreed national policy of educational development from which successive Ministers of Education would find it difficult to depart.

It appears that a properly constituted National Council of Education has never been formed. Some such bodies have been established and abolished from time to time at the discretion of successive Ministers. One reason given for failure to maintain a National Council of Education is that the Minister should justify himself, not to a Committee of 'experts' but to public opinion. Theoretically there is much to be said for such an explanation but, in a country where the bulk of the population have not had educational opportunity and cannot therefore be articulate in public affairs, it is difficult to decide what constitutes a sound public opinion in matters educational.

A new Education Law giving the Ministry of Education the necessary powers and duties to cope with present pressing demands and needs is overdue. Such a law should include categorical provision for the establishment of a well-balanced National Council of Education with a dignified status. It should have definite powers and duties and meet at regular and legally stipulated intervals. The Minister should be required to consult the Council on major changes of policy, and should not make changes without a majority decision by it. The Council should approve all major plans and developments and regulations of the Ministry before they become effective. Most important, the National Council should have the power of initiating discussion and enquiry as it thinks fit, and should not necessarily await the invitation of the Minister before so doing.

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871 185 645 There are signs that the present time is opportune for the formation of this body. The writer had the privilege of being present at a recent *ad hoc* gathering of men prominent in the educational affairs of Iraq, presided over by the Minister of Education. The level of discussion was exceptionally high, and one advantage of the meeting was that the Minister was both able to be made aware of trends of opinion and in turn to bring to the notice of the 'experts' practical administrative considerations which might prevent him from applying all their advice. If such a body could be transformed into a regularly meeting National Council of Education and given the powers indicated, it is likely that that consistent policy without which advance in the direction of compulsory education cannot be achieved would be considerably assisted.

871 645 *Concentration of the Ministry of Education on Major Issues of National Educational Policy.* If the Minister were guided in the formation of policy by a properly constituted National Council of Education, the way to consideration of an agreed national policy of educational advance would be facilitated. However, before these reforms could achieve their object, they would need to be accompanied by a reformed conception of the Ministry of Education itself. At the present time, the Ministry is more in the nature of a national administrative office than a policy-making body. In addition to controlling all forms of education and exercising most minute financial control in small matters, the senior officials of the Ministry appear to be occupied with a mass of detailed administration, much of which could very well be left to the Provincial Directors of Education.

It is suggested that, at any rate in the sphere of primary education, many of the existing administrative tasks performed by officers of the Ministry of Education should be transferred to the offices of the Provincial Directors of Education. If this were done it would enable the senior officials of the Ministry to concentrate their talents on major issues of national policy which, at the present time, need considerable thought and investigation. If compulsory education of quality is ever to become a reality, matters of major policy which at present receive insufficient consideration must be investigated by officers of the Ministry before the facts concerning them can be adequately considered by the Minister and the National Council of Education which it is hoped he may soon have to assist him. Plans for improved training and distribution of teachers badly need mature consideration, as do investigations into the most suitable types of school building for a country with the climatic conditions of Iraq.

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Programmes of study, especially those for the rural and agricultural schools, need much thought and study by those who administer them. Ultimately, local development plans for advance towards compulsory schooling will need most careful consideration. These vital tasks cannot be undertaken adequately until the Ministry of Education is relieved of much of its present stifling day-to-day detail.

THE CREATION OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

As was indicated in the preceding chapter, one of the significant social and educational developments in Iraq is the growth of local interest in education which is accompanied by some vigorous local administrative initiative and a preparedness to find money for local development. This suggests that, quite apart from the Ministry of Education being able to clear its own decks for action by passing on much of the details of administration to the provincial education officers, there exist in the localities valuable means by which a policy of advance towards compulsory education could be facilitated.

A movement in the direction of enlisting the aid of the provinces in the increase of educational provision was considered a few years ago. Under the Provincial Administration Law of 1945, a General Provincial Council was established in each province. It was empowered, in a limited way, to levy local taxes to support various local services, including some aspects of education. For one reason or another, the exercise of these local taxing powers in relation to education appears to have been restricted by the administrative action of the central Government departments. It is understood, however, that a more vigorous attempt is about to be made to give the General Provincial Council in every province wider powers of control over education up to and including the primary schools.

It is to be hoped that, when this transfer of certain powers to the General Provincial Councils takes place, it will be done in such a way that local interest in education is given full opportunity. It would be a great aid to local desire for educational powers and advance if each General Provincial Council were instructed to create amongst its members a Provincial Education Committee to which would be delegated the task both of controlling local primary schools and of developing primary education. There can be no doubt from conversations which have taken place that local people are anxious to exercise these powers. There is equally no doubt that, with some exceptions, the Provincial Directors of

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Education would, if the transfer of control from the centre were effected by stages and with adequate advice, be able to serve their Provincial Education Committees well.

One great advantage of giving local representatives control of their primary schools would be that it would enhance the increasing local interest which is being taken in educational affairs. Increased local control, with the power both to levy local taxes in addition to the existing voluntary contributions, would also help to spread the burden of educational expenditure which is so essential to development. Further, as will be suggested later, these Provincial Education Committees might after a time provide the machinery for preparing detailed plans for local provision of compulsory education.

It is very much to be hoped that this opportunity of establishing Local Education Authorities will be neither lost nor frustrated, because it may well be that it will provide the only suitable arrangement both for ascertaining local needs and for raising the additional monies which will be required from local sources before compulsory education can ever become a reality. This hope needs to be reiterated because it is understood that although the Government have the proposal under active consideration, it is not popular in certain sections of the Ministry of Education. Apparently some of the senior officials fear that the transfer of primary education functions from the centre to the localities would jeopardize existing educational arrangements. Such fears may or may not be justified. It is, however, part of the democratic process to provide local governing bodies with the opportunity of learning from the mistakes they may make. In any event, if one of the main sources of additional revenues for education is to be found in the provinces, it is only appropriate that those who are to find the money should have their say as to the way it is to be used.

THE FINANCING OF THE NEW EDUCATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

000 *Sharing of National and Local Expenditure—a Grants System.* On the assumption that the proposed transfer of powers in respect of primary education from the Ministry of Education to Local Education Authorities will take place, early consideration will have to be given to the financing of education under the new arrangement. If the Provincial Education Committees are to be created, it is essential that, through the General Provincial Councils, they should be given the power to levy local taxes for education, both to augment existing voluntary contributions and

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as a means of spreading the burden of local educational provision equitably amongst the community.

This will create a dual or complementary system of educational finance, partly national and partly local. The most satisfactory system of fairly distributing educational expenditure as between the national and the local budgets would be the devising of a grants system. Under this grants system each Provincial Education Committee would annually receive monies from the national education budget to supplement the taxes and other contributions raised locally. If the amount of the annual Ministry of Education grant for each province could, subject to the limitations of the national budget, be increased—for a time at any rate—proportionately to the local monies raised, this would probably act as a strong incentive to local self-help.

The Financing of School Building. Under existing arrangements for the public use of royalties received from the oil companies, money from this important and steadily increasing source is wisely devoted to the Capital Works Budget. In the past it has apparently not been considered possible to devote monies from this Capital Works Budget on any large scale to capital works for educational purposes such as schools and teachers' houses. Indeed, as during the last financial year this Capital Works Budget showed a deficit, it would have been difficult to impose educational demands on it. As, however, it is understood that the revenue from oil royalties is likely to increase three-fold during the next few years, a shrewd Minister of Education with an eye to future progress towards compulsory education would doubtless do his utmost to persuade Parliament to earmark a fair share of this additional revenue for capital works of an educational nature.

Financing Material Inducements to School Attendance. Although during the first period of this short-term policy of advance towards compulsory education the task will be mainly that of coping with existing and potential demands for admission into primary schools, some financial provision will need to be made for assisting the children of the very low income groups. It would be desirable, therefore, if powers could be given to the Provincial Education Committees to devote part of the money derived from local taxes or contributions towards the provision of meals and clothes for really needy children. This would enable the Provincial Education Committees to gain experience of what will be an important aspect of educational administration when the time comes to compel the attendance at school of the many children whose parents are too poor to take advantage of educational provision unless it is accompanied by material assistance.

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN IRAQ

THE DECLARATION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION AREAS

● 871 The initial tasks during this period of the operation of the suggested short-term policy will be those of coping with existing pressure on the primary schools, undertaking the essential reforms of the central administration, creating a system of local educational administration and devising a scheme of educational finance which will stimulate the provision of money for primary education from local sources. But it should also be possible during this period to take practical steps towards the completion of provision for compulsory education in specific areas.

It will take a very long time before it is possible to declare any one province as a complete compulsory education area with any hope that the declaration will be effective. It will also be several years before compulsory education can be effectively declared in the large towns. For instance, in Baghdad schools will have to be established for another sixty per cent of the primary school population before an attempt can be made to enforce compulsory education.

There are, however, a number of smaller towns and large villages where, with the provision of a few more schools, primary school places could be provided for all the local child population. For instance, in one of the northern provincial towns, out of a total estimated primary school population of 4,500 children, some 2,700 pupils are already attending fourteen primary schools. The provision of six additional primary schools each with accommodation for 300 pupils would complete provision for primary education in that town. There are many smaller towns where, even if existing primary school accommodation is limited, the provision of but a few schools would enable all the children of primary school age to be educated. In addition, many villages, both large and small, exist where the establishment of one or two more schools and the completion of existing incomplete schools would provide the necessary accommodation within a year or two.

ooo If, therefore, the suggested administrative reforms outlined took place so that the Ministry of Education, on the advice of the National Council of Education, could devote adequate time and thought to the issue of the necessary directions and guidance, the newly created Provincial Education Committees could, as one of their early tasks, concentrate on the provision of schools in those towns and villages where the establishment of a few extra schools would mean the completion of primary education within a few years. So soon as any town or village has sufficient primary schools for the total child population, the Ministry of Education should then declare that town or village a compulsory education area.

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN IRAQ

It is understood that there is a
871 possibility that one of the most enlightened sheikhs of one of the
185 largest tribal groups in Iraq would be prepared to co-operate by providing premises, together with accommodation for the team consisting possibly of teachers, an agriculturalist and health officer.

A LONG-TERM POLICY

000 These then are some of the short-term measures which it is suggested should be considered as the basis of a practical policy leading towards the establishment of compulsory education. They are, of course, only 'short-term' in the sense that they constitute lines of fairly immediate action, most of which will need to be carried forward and embodied within a more long-term policy. It is now necessary to discuss other measures, more of a qualitative nature, which will take longer to materialize but which must be put into operation over a much longer period if quantitative advance is to result in the provision of the right type or types of school.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THE TEACHER

The Training of Teachers. The establishment of more schools must be accompanied by the training of more and better qualified teachers. If the Ministry of Education could be freed from its serious overload of administrative detail on the lines indicated, one of its most important tasks would be the development and gradual transformation of existing arrangements for the training of teachers.

As was indicated in Chapter Three, the output of teachers from training institutions during the current year is likely to be 754. Some of the training institutions are doing excellent and lively work. They are handicapped by the fact, however, that many of the students did not complete a full secondary education before they entered the training institution. This means that the period of training for these teachers has to be devoted too much to the task of repairing deficiencies in educational background, and is not sufficiently a professional college course. Many of those who had the advantage of a full secondary education before they took up training do not enter a training college proper but attend a one-year course attached to a secondary school with limited facilities.

Training devices of this kind were essential if the output of teachers was to keep pace with the rapidly growing demand for more schools. The effects of inadequate training are, however,

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will be necessary to consider improved arrangements for the housing of teachers, especially in the rural areas. Because of the limited housing facilities in many of the villages, the majority of the teachers in the rural areas live under most unsatisfactory domestic conditions. Some live in the staff-rooms or school store. Others dwell in improvized buildings which are inadequate both for their personal needs and the status they should occupy in local society. It is because of circumstances of this kind that some of the teachers who work in the villages feel that they are undertaking penance, from which they will only escape when they can secure transfer to a town.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING

The Corporate Life of the Primary School. Apart from some of the more established town schools where staffs have served in the same school for a number of years, many of the schools seem to lack that corporate life which is essential to the success of any school community. This is partly due to the fact that, because of unsatisfactory living conditions outside the larger centres of population, many teachers stay in the rural schools for only very short periods. They hardly get to know their pupils as individuals and do not stay long enough to assimilate the life of the surrounding community or to influence it. These conditions, when remedied by the provision of teachers' houses, possibly accompanied by 'rural teachers' allowances', will do much to improve the quality of the school as a community.

Greater Freedom for Teachers. As the teaching profession becomes better trained and housed, it is to be expected that they will be allowed greater freedom in the preparation of their own programmes of study and activity. Complaints are frequently made that, because the existing programmes of study are centrally prepared and prescribed, they restrict the freedom of the teachers. This is only partly true because, although the primary school programme is overloaded and does not provide for sufficient differentiation either as between urban and rural schools or as between the sexes, it is not perhaps so illiberal in conception as some of those who interpret it.

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the time will come when, with a better qualified primary school teaching cadre, it will be possible for the Ministry of Education to abandon centrally prescribed syllabuses in favour of something in the way of 'A Programme of Suggestions for Teachers'. If such a programme

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were issued and each school required to produce its own schemes of work based generally on the suggestions, this would help to promote school programmes more related to the needs of the schools in their local environment. Such an arrangement would throw greater responsibility on the teachers themselves and would promote greater educational thought and experiment in place of the all-too rigid adherence to existing syllabuses.

If the Ministry of Education feel that they cannot go so far in granting freedom to the schools to prepare their own schemes of work, an approach to greater local freedom in this direction would be achieved if the task of preparing programmes could be delegated to a committee of teachers in each province who would prepare provincial programmes of study for approval by the Ministry.

Courses for Serving Teachers. Whether or not arrangements can be made for teachers to get together to prepare provincial programmes of study, there is a great need for continuous provision of courses for serving teachers. This applies more particularly to the rural teachers, many of whom live in conditions of great isolation and need that stimulus to thought and those wider professional contacts that they cannot have in their immediate locality.

AN APPROACH TO A NEW STRUCTURE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

Two Stages of Schooling for All. As the quality of the teachers and an accompanying greater degree of freedom grow, it is probable that it will be found that the existing structure of primary education, namely six years of schooling for all in one school, does not meet all the educational needs of the children. At the present time the primary schools, with their great variation in age groups, are trying to perform two functions. They both initiate young children into the business of schooling and, because most of the pupils leave at an early age and undergo no period of secondary education, are also expected to give the older pupils some preparation for adult life. This is certainly the intention of the agricultural primary schools which some educators hope will become the model of the village school of the future.

It is not really possible to undertake both tasks in the one school. It is suggested, therefore, that the Ministry of Education and the proposed National Council of Education should begin to give some thought to a future alteration of the structure of primary education on the following lines:

(1) The first stage of education should last six years and, especially in the lower classes, should continue the activity techniques

for some time. Women have been employed so far only in exceptional cases. A new problem has been recently experienced in the high turnover of ordinary labour. Owing to the development of the oil industry in Kuweit and other Persian Gulf areas, and the high wages being paid there, many workers in Baghdad, and more still in the depressed farming areas, have been emigrating there. The turnover in the cotton textile industry of Iraq is estimated at 20 per cent of employed labour. 464

The main difficulty however lies in the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour. The vast amount of illiteracy among the population, and the failure to make elementary education compulsory has made it difficult to apply any system of apprenticeship successfully. Technical education provided by the State has so far been on a very limited scale - indeed, there are only three technical secondary schools in the whole of Iraq. Therefore a new industry has often first to train its own labourers and techniciana, and this of course adds to costs. In the meanwhile, most industries are dependent on foreign technicians, experts, constructors, heads of sections, and foremen. The employment of foreign technicians no doubt is inevitable in the early stages of development, but it has its own drawbacks and burdens. Foreign skill demands higher rewards abroad than it would accept at home, the standard of skill obtained is often not the highest, service is often interrupted either by ordinary leaves, or illness or inability to fit in with local conditions. [212] [871] [874]

The lack of qualified labour also applies to the fields of administration, accounts, and management. Efficient clerks, typists, store-keepers, accountants and secretaries are in great demand and very few are available in Iraq. The inadequacy of State commercial education is no less than that of technical education. The scarcity of able management is a serious obstacle to the progress of industry. Those few who have entered the field of industry are mostly of the type of proprietor-manager (even in joint-stock companies managers are usually fairly large share-holders); while the members of boards of directors of industrial companies, (about twenty to twenty-five men) mostly have their own business or profession to attend to. No wonder they show reluctance to go into new enterprises. For one reason or another salaried managers have not made their way into industry, except in very rare cases. On the other hand foreign management, especially on the [658 874] 464 472 473

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farm at Karrāda, near Baghdad, and other experimental plots established in the country. Captain Thomas made comprehensive experiments,[1] both in the growing of cotton and in the marketing of the product, which seemed to hold out bright prospects for the future of Mesopotamia as a cotton-growing country.[2]

The activities of the Department centred about this and other experimental work,[3] but attempts were also made to encourage better agricultural methods, both by the dissemination of information and by the demonstration of modern machinery.[4] The handicaps, however, of the long years of ignorance and of dependence on traditional methods, the consequent apathy of the actual cultivators, the lack of education, the weather vagaries, the uncertainty of water supplies and the uncontrolled pests as well as the scarcity of funds available hampered the Department on every side. Under such conditions, the pioneering activities of the Department, often discouraging in the lack of apparent results, laid the foundations of service which might have played a greater part in regenerating the country had its early efforts been maintained during the succeeding years.

Education

Under the Turkish Government, an excellent system of education, according to its own reports, existed for 'Iraq, with a

[1] Thomas, R., *Possibilities of Mesopotamia as a Cotton Growing Country, Note I, June* 15, 1918 (Baghdad, 1918); *Note II, January* 15, 1919 (Baghdad, 1919); *Note III, November* 5, 1919 (Baghdad, 1919); *Report on Cotton Experimentation Work in Mesopotamia*, 1918 (Baghdad, 1919); Ibid., 1918-19, (Baghdad, 1920); *Report of Deputation to England* (Baghdad, 1919). Also, Philby, H. St. J. B., *Cultivation of Cotton in Mesopotamia* (Baghdad, 1919).

[2] Thomas, R., *Note III*, 1919, p. 10. Also, *Baghdad Times*, April 14, 1923.

[3] Results of the early studies of dates were embodied in Dowson, H. V., *Dates and Date Cultivation* (Cambridge, 1924); experiments with wheat in Garbett, C. C., *Note on Wheat Experiments, Mesopotamia*, 1917-18 (Baghdad, 1918) and those of other experiments in leaflets published by the Department.

[4] Most of the technical staff, both gazetted and non-gazetted, of the Department came from India as did most of the experimental equipment. *Admin. Report of the Department of Agriculture in Mesopotamia*, 1920 (Baghdad, 1921), pp. 2-3.

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INITIATION OF ADMINISTRATION

Mudir al-Mu'arif (Director of Education) in every wilayet, each having a budget,[1] staff, syllabus and long list of schools. To judge by results, however, the system was a 'whited sepulchre'. The schools were rarely as numerous nor as well attended as government statistics indicated; the teachers possessed little learning and even less moral character. Arabic was little stressed as a language. Shī'is, comprising the majority of the population, would not send their sons to government schools, invariably taught by Sunnīs, nor were they encouraged to do so by the Sunnī Ottoman Government.

Mr. Dobbs, as Revenue Commissioner, had, in early 1915, studied the educational problem and had written suggestions for British policy.[2] He advocated extreme caution in initiating a new system in order that the mistakes made in India might be avoided. The shortage of primary teachers led him to declare that if it were not for the urgent necessity of equipping Arabs for government service and for avoiding the imputation that the British Administration was not inclined to provide educational facilities, he 'should be inclined to advise that not a single school should be opened for the next two years'.[3] Under the circumstances, however, he recommended that one or two primary schools be opened and that subsidies be given to the American Mission Schools under Mr. John Van Ess and to the Carmelite Frères School. The opening of other schools would have to be left to the future.[4] Thus from the beginning, the necessity of encouraging education to provide youths for government service became a guiding factor and stimulated the establishment of educational facilities where the natural tendency on the part of the British authorities was to restrict

[1] A pre-war Budget for Baghdad Wilayet was:

Law School and Secondary School	£T. 9,000
Other schools (from Local Revenue)	£T.25,000
Total	£T.34,000

Revenue Report, 1917, p. 45.

[2] Dobbs, H. R. C., Notes on Education, February 15th, 1915.

[3] Ibid., para. 2.

[4] Ibid., para. 11.

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175* 727* 871 education or to regard it as of secondary importance in the work of regenerating the country. Nevertheless, only two primary schools were established by the end of 1915, although subsidies had been granted to the two institutions already mentioned.

TABLE I

Main Headings	1915–16	1916–17	1917–18	1918–19	1919–20
	Rupees	Rupees	Rupees	Rupees	Rupees
1. Headquarters Administrative Expenditure.*	5,54,230	11,83,425	24,18,253	33,90,100	73,60,714
2. Political Officers, Revenue Establishments	5,48,892	9,19,085	51,89,233	93,21,690	70,67,420
3. Customs	1,11,898	3,85,800	5,80,350	6,75,000	29,64,169
4. Transport	—	—	—	—	30,87,834
5. Judicial	1,20,207	1,27,295	2,14,983	3,73,000	8,21,145
6. Medical	61,345	87,180	1,39,887	4,63,750	20,31,542
7. Education	6,500	23,530	35,500	1,80,000	8,86,808
8. Police	1,99,146	2,86,975	8,90,163	12,04,080	22,71,389
9. Jails	20,126	44,460	98,517	1,67,400	5,44,304
10. Public Works	—	1,05,450	4,61,400	8,74,700	49,63,292
11. Posts	—	—	—	—	23,74,831
12. Telegraphs	—	—	—	—	8,19,868
13. Survey	—	—	—	—	94,859
14. Irrigation	—	—	—	—	38,78,605
15. Agriculture	—	—	—	—	3,81,738
16. Levies	—	—	—	—	66,49,490
Totals	16,22,344	31,63,200	100,28,286	166,49,720	461,98,008

* Includes Salaries, Secret Service, Subsistence Allowances, Sea Passages, Telegrams, Stationery, Press, etc.

Figures for all years, except 1919-20, based on *Review C. Admin.*, 1914-1920, p. 119. Figures for 1919-20 based on actuals in *Budget Estimates*, 1920-21, p. iii.

658 871 175 727 During the same period only Rs.6,500 were spent on promoting education, or 0.4 per cent of the civil expenditure, Rs.16,22,344.[1] In the following fiscal year,[2] however, Rs.

[1] Note by Financial Secretary in *Review C. Admin.*, 1914-1920, p. 119. For table of expenditures by heads, see Table I.

[2] April 1st to March 31st.

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23,530 or 0·74 per cent of the total civil expenditure were spent, entirely in Basra Wilayet. Nor did the situation improve after the taking of Baghdad, the attention of the authorities being almost exclusively taken up with consolidating the military and political situation. Expenditure on education in 1917-18 totalled but 0·35 per cent of the total civil expenditure.

Not until the appointment of a Director of Education, Major H. E. Bowman,[1] in September, 1918, was a vigorous start made towards creating an educational system. By the end of 1918, twenty primary schools had been set up,[2] but expenditure still formed only 1·08 per cent of the total expenditure. The desire for schools and educational facilities, especially the opportunity to learn English, was everywhere manifest, petitions and requests coming from all parts of the Occupied Territories.[3] To meet these demands, twenty-one new primary schools were opened in 1919,[4] while a further fifteen were added in 1920, which, including twenty-four subsidized schools, brought the total number to eighty-five boys' schools of all types, and five girls' schools,[5] with a total enrolment of 6,182 pupils or one for every 462 of the population.[6] The proportion of the expenditure for Education to the entire expenditure in this year, the fifth of the British Occupation, had risen to 1·9 per cent.[7]

[1] Egyptian Ministry of Education, 1903-1923; Director Palestine Education Department, 1920-36.

[2] *Administrative Report of Education*, 1918, p. 10 (hereafter *Admin. Rep. Ed.*, 1918).

[3] *Fortnightly Reports of Political Officers, Baghdad Wilayet, 1st-15th June*, 1918: Mandali, p. 23 (hereafter *Fortnightly Rep'ts*); *Monthly Rep'ts, January*, 1919; Basra Sanjaq, p. 32; Qurna, p. 79; Ibid., *August*, 1919: Erbil, p. 45; Ibid., *November*, 1919: Dulaim, p. 14.

[4] *Administration of the Department of Education for the year* 1919 (Baghdad, 1920) (hereafter *Admin. Rep. Ed.*, 1919).

[5] *Review C. Admin.*, 1914-1920, p. 104.

[6] On the basis of the census, 1918-19, of 2,890,000 inhabitants.

Education	..	..	.. Rs. 8,86,808
Total Budget	..	..	.. Rs. 461,98,008

These figures are taken from actual expenditure given in *Budget Estimates*, 1920-1921, p. iii. They differ slightly from the estimates given in *Review C. Admin.*, 1914-1920, p. 119.

[7] See Table II.

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'IRAQ

The years of neglect of education, including the war years, the lack of trained teachers and of equipment and the paucity of the funds sanctioned by the Civil Administration which rendered it impossible to overcome adequately the lack of teachers by bringing them from Syria and Egypt, contributed to the slow creation of educational facilities. Nevertheless, the aims of the Department were kept high. These, as summarized by the Director of Education in 1918, were:

> to provide a sound elementary education, on which to base an edifice lasting, endurable and firm. To open new schools gradually as trained teachers become available. To select as teachers only the best candidates, socially, morally and mentally, and to pay them well. To never lose sight of the real object in view — the formation of character and the spirit of good citizenship.[1]

As long as British advisers played a decisive part in the educational affairs of 'Iraq, these aims formed the basis of their policy.

Judicial System

In accordance with Great Britain's policy of establishing an Arab administration in Baghdad, of which the promise in General Maude's Proclamation not to introduce alien institutions was a public intimation, the instructions of H.M. Government had made it clear that the Occupied Territories Code was not to be introduced into Baghdad Wilayet.[2] The policy adopted, therefore, was not 'to make a clean sweep of the Turkish legal system and to introduce a new system based on English models, as had been done in Basrah Wilayet', but rather 'to carry on the Turkish organization of Courts and system of law, making such immediate modifications only as are necessary to ensure justice and a reasonably efficient administration'.[3]

[1] *Admin. Rep. Ed.*, 1918, p. 10.
[2] Telegram, S/S for India to Political, Baghdad, March 29th, 1917.
[3] *Administrative Report of Justice from the Occupation of Baghdad to* 31.12.17, p. 4 (hereafter *Admin. Rep. Justice*, 1917).

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693 stitution. Their principal contribution, however, has been
671 their aid in creating a standard for the administration of justice and the conduct of the courts. Their insistence on justice without regard to distinctions of class or religion and their unfaltering rectitude in conformity with the best British traditions have left what may be hoped is an indelible imprint on the Judicial system of 'Iraq. To them is due in a great degree the high standard of justice which prevailed in 'Iraq before 1932. Their task has never been an easy one. The traditions inherited from Ottoman days that justice could be bought and that a Judgeship was a means of amassing a fortune, were too deeply ingrained to be eradicated easily and at once. As great an obstacle to equity in the courts was the unfortunate susceptibility of the Judges to outside influences, personal, official and religious. Thus the decisions of Judges of otherwise impeachable integrity have been known to be swayed by fear of public criticism, of the threatened displeasure of high officials or by political and religious motives.

Education

871 The British educational policy for 'Iraq from the time of the Civil Administration largely centred around the provision of primary schools supplemented by denominational schools. The policy of the 'Iraq Government, in brief, has been the extension of a system of national schools, primary and secondary, accompanied by the gradual elimination of denominational schools with their connotations of foreign and consequently undesirable influences.

Between these two policies has been waged incessant war, in which British officials employed by the Ministry usually gave way, particularly as they were rarely supported by the Residency to the same degree as were their colleagues in other Ministries. Moreover, control passed to 'Iraqī officials throughout the Ministry earlier than in any other Ministry or

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department, no administrative order in the Ministry being given by a British official after 1923.[1] The responsibility for the educational system thus has been largely 'Iraqī, in spite of the inclination both of 'Iraqī officials and of American educationalists to lay the blame for its deficiencies at the feet of the British officials. Indeed, more influence of foreign origin has been exerted on the educational system by 'Iraqī students returning from American and English schools and Universities than by the British officials of the Ministry.

No government department has been a greater source of optimism for the continued development of 'Iraq, both to 'Iraqī and to foreign observers, than has Education. No other department can point to budget appropriations which have steadily increased from 1921, the amount assigned in 1932 to Education being more than double the sum in 1921.[2] No other Ministry can show such concrete and progressively achieved results. The number of primary schools for boys has increased from 124 in 1921 to 247 in 1930, the enrolment increasing from 12,226 to 24,885. In the same period, girls' schools have increased from 27 to 44, with an increase in enrolment from 3849 to 6003. During this period, secondary and intermediate schools have grown from four, with an estimated attendance of

[1] *Progress of 'Iraq*, p. 224.

[2] A summary of the expenditures of the Ministry of Education, 1921-32) in lacs of rupees) is as follows:

Year	*Expenditure*	*Percentage of Budget to total expenditure*
1921–22	19·36	3·3
1922–23	19·94	4·1
1923–24	18·15	4·0
1924–25	22·13	4·59
1925–26	23·48	4·43
1926–27	26·93*	5·2
1927–28	27·42	4·74
1928–29	32·01	5·33
1929–30	37·18	6·42
1930–31	38·41	7·5
1931–32	39·98	7·9

* The budget of the Antiquities Department and of the Engineering School was added to the Budget in this year and in subsequent years.

658 238 students, to fifteen with 1863 students. Nor has the increase
871 in schools been attended by a decrease in the quantity or
[875] quality of the teachers, although they are admittedly still inadequate in numbers and in training. The return of 'Iraqī students sent abroad at the expense of the Government in lieu of setting up its own Higher Educational Institutions has brought fresh blood, progressive ideas and new standards to Education to an extent not equalled by any other Ministry. Careful efforts have also been made, particularly in recent years, to adapt Western methods to 'Iraq instead of blindly adopting them. In this respect, the educational system in vogue in present-day Turkey has been looked to as furnishing a model.

871 Notwithstanding these praiseworthy achievements, concern has been expressed both by 'Iraqīs and by others lest various tendencies, now observable in the educational system, mar the work of the Ministry. Such trends seem to be: the extension of the number of schools without maintaining their grade or the standard of work required by them; the failure of the Ministry to dissociate itself entirely from political struggles and controversies; and the acquisition by students of the view that education is vocational rather than cultural in aim and that government positions should be the reward of their school certificates. On the ability of the educational system to free itself from these handicaps, either by the wise direction of educational affairs on the part of those in authority or by the growth of a new attitude on the part of the people themselves, will depend much of the continued progress of 'Iraq.

744 In other fields, a health service has been in existence since
759 the British Occupation, a Medical School has been created at Baghdad, plague and cholera checked and sanitary regulations for the corpse traffic to the Holy Cities imposed. On the other hand, the Medical School has been unable to provide sufficient highly trained graduates with a willingness to take posts in out-
[758] lying districts. Medical centres are unable to reach but a small
164 portion of the total population. Malaria, tuberculosis and eye dis-

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371 electric plants is considerably greater than that of equivalent thermal capacity; and Iraq possesses very cheap fuel for the gen-
[345] eration of power. At present municipal power is used primarily for lighting, and even if industrial plants should turn increasingly to municipal stations for their power supply they would be able to obtain considerable amounts of "off-peak" power in such cities as Baghdad and Basra without any increase in generating capacity. In the judgment of the Mission hydroelectric power should be considered only if it does not need to be transmitted over long distances and then only if the demand is such as to insure a steady and high load factor. It is not yet clear that the Wadi Tharthar depression will actually store enough water to permit the generation of power, and the power which might be generated at the dams projected elsewhere is likely to be too far removed from major consuming centers.

VII. Education

• 871 Education is a basic condition for the agricultural, industrial and technological progress of the country as well as for the development of a fuller cultural life and the sound growth of democratic institutions. Its importance has received growing recognition and considerable progress has been made. In years of financial stringency the budget for education has usually continued to expand while other government expenditures were curtailed. In the last two decades, the number of schools rose from 262 to 1,100, the number of pupils from 32,750 to 175,000 and the number of primary school teachers increased from 1,325 to 6,588. During the same period, expenditures on education rose from about ID 300,000 per year to well over ID 4,000,000—a not inconsiderable advance even after taking into account the rise in prices.

Nevertheless, there are still only 175,000 children in schools out of about 750,000 of school age. Despite the increased emphasis on primary education, expenditures for this purpose still take only 51 percent of the education budget. The number of children in school declines sharply with each succeeding grade, so that only about half the children starting in primary school actually finish their

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primary school education and much of the investment in their education accordingly bears little fruit. The facilities and quality of technical or vocational education are seriously deficient and adult education has been almost wholly neglected. Probably about 80 percent of the men and over 95 percent of the women remain illiterate. Moreover, educational concepts are far too narrow and too little related to the everyday problems of living.

As the result of its study of educational needs the Mission has come to the conclusion that the government should launch a three-part program involving (1) the improvement and extension of technical education, (2) the gradual introduction of compulsory primary school education, and (3) fundamental education for adults.

Technical Schooling

The question of technical or vocational education is not treated in detail here, partly because it has already been discussed in connection with agriculture and industry, partly because the government has requested UNESCO to send a special mission on vocational education. Although the number of students in technical schools—about 750—seems very inadequate, Iraq apparently has had difficulty in absorbing the graduates of these institutions largely because they lack sufficient practical training and they show a distaste for manual work. Obviously one of the first steps toward improved technical training will be to give the curriculum of the intermediate and secondary schools a greater vocational bias, with emphasis upon the dignity and value of manual labor. It is also worth emphasizing again that skilled labor and foremen can best be recruited from the ranks of active young workmen through on-the-job training programs, supplemented in some cases by technical schooling. Only the higher supervisory grades of personnel need to be trained in technical schools, and even for these there should be considerable emphasis on practical training in business, industry and agriculture as an integral part of the curriculum.

Introduction of Compulsory Primary Education

There is a general consensus both among Iraqi educators and foreign experts who have examined the problem that the time has come for a broad advance in the direction of compulsory education.

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871 In India, where conditions are not dissimilar, a program for the gradual introduction of compulsory primary education has been approved. The only real question relates to the speed with which the objective should be accomplished. The Mission believes that a phased program covering a period of about 15 years may be feasible for Iraq. During the first five years of this period it would be necessary to establish and open the additional training colleges required for teachers, build the needed elementary schools and make all the essential administrative and organizational preparations. At the same time a comprehensive campaign to enlist public support of the objective would have to be launched and a careful survey made to determine the facilities needed in each locality and the order of priority in the introduction of compulsory education. The ensuing 10-year period would then be used for the progressive application of the principle of compulsory education.

875 It is estimated that from 18,000 to 20,000 new teachers will be required for this program. Urgent attention would therefore have to be given in the next three years to the establishment of new training colleges, probably one in each province, to insure that the first group of new teachers would be available by 1956. It is vitally important that competent young men and women imbued with enthusiasm and a sense of mission be attracted to the teaching profession. The local teacher should be equipped to work among adults as well as children and capable of becoming a leader in the community. The status and dignity of the teaching profession should therefore be raised and adequate provision made for teachers' compensation, as well as their housing, health and general welfare.

872 The number of schools will have to be greatly expanded. Moreover, many of the schools are now ill-housed and ill-equipped and will therefore need to be replaced. Many others are in inadequate rented structures. It is noted that the Development Board has already set aside almost four million dinars for school construction in its five-year program. The basis for this figure is not known to the Mission, but, since a considerable part of the program is evidently intended for the replacement of old and rented buildings, it is likely to fall somewhat short of the requirements set by

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a program for the introduction of compulsory primary education over the next 15 years. 872

The introduction of compulsory primary schooling will have to take into account varying economic conditions. It is often argued that most parents are unable to afford to send their children to school because children must go to work at an early age to help support the family. The high proportion of children who leave primary schools before finishing appears to support this thesis. However, these economic pressures will tend to diminish as the development program gets under way and opens up larger and more remunerative oportunities for employment to adults. Experience indicates that one of the first desires of parents who have improved their economic status is to provide better education for their children. Such a desire, for example, has already become manifest among the settlers in the Dujaila project. This does not mean, of course, that economic limitations must be ignored. It would be best to apply the principle of compulsion first in cities and more prosperous communities where economic pressures for the employment of children are least evident. In rural areas there may well be resistance to compulsory school attendance unless the period of schooling is adjusted to permit the help of children in the sowing and harvesting seasons. Some discretion should be permitted in adjusting school vacations to the harvesting periods in different parts of the country; and where schools need to remain open during busy agricultural seasons, the period of instruction should be so scheduled as to permit children to work part of the day in the fields.

Special problems must be met in connection with the education of the children of nomadic tribes. Here teachers trained from the ranks of the nomads themselves will have to travel with the tribes. The teaching syllabus will need to be adapted and simplified in order to take into account their special needs.

Revisions of the School Curriculum

As part of the program there should be a marked reorientation of the curriculum and methods of teaching. Learning is largely by rote. The children passively absorb information and learn comparatively little by actually doing things. Almost no 876 871

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attempt is made to develop their creative instincts. The curriculum is far too bookish and academic and there is a great gulf between what is taught in school and the exigencies of practical life. Dr. Fadhel Jamali, a distinguished Iraqi educator and political figure, has aptly remarked that "no educational system is justified that does not give relief from the scourge of diseases nor aim at raising the standard of living and inculcating new ideas and techniques".

The school curriculum should be revised in the light of four principal objectives which have been well-stated by Mr. Victor Clark in his report on Compulsory Education in Iraq:

> "The first is the need for sound character training, including a realization that education is not simply a collection of skills and aids in preparation for a government or clerical job, but the acquisition of sound values which need to be applied in all walks of life whether professional or manual. The second important need is a knowledge of the practice and principles of good husbandry by those who work on the land. An equally important requirement in a minority of the population is the acquisition of technical skills necessary in local industries and in the growing demand for maintenance work. Finally, as is to be expected in a young country which is still engaged in the process of welding diverse racial and religious groups into conscious nationhood, it is considered that one of the most important needs is the promotion of knowledge and qualities necessary to the furtherance of national unity."[5]

Although there has been some demand that education in the villages should be given a "rural" bias and education in the cities a "vocational" bias, only half-hearted experiments in that direction have actually been carried out. In the future there should be much more emphasis on crafts in all schools. Properly guided children, who are naturally creative, will find joy in working skillfully with their hands and develop a pride in craftsmanship which has seriously declined in Iraq. The crafts which are taught should be as varied and as closely linked to local occupations as possible. Rural schools, in particular, should have small gardening plots where children can learn simple agricultural processes, the care of live-

[5] Victor Clark, *Compulsory Education in Iraq* (UNESCO, 1951), p. 18.

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stock and the use of tools. Crafts should emphasize the best use of cheap local materials in weaving and rug making, woodwork, simple building operations and the like. Urban schools might stress such crafts as leather work, woodwork, bookbinding and printing, brick-making, textiles, etc. For girls, lessons might be provided in sewing, cooking and other domestic pursuits. For all pupils, visits to hospitals, industrial plants, demonstration farms and the like would prove a useful supplement to training acquired at school.

As already indicated, health and hygiene should be given a more important place in the curriculum. Children could not only be taught useful facts regarding the causes and methods of treatment of endemic diseases like bilharzia, hookworm, malaria and eye infections, but could be persuaded to do something about them by helping to eliminate stagnant pools and showing others how to avoid water pollution. Similarly they could learn something about the qualities of different foods, the importance of personal hygiene and the value of cleanliness in the home.

In this type of educational program it would be desirable to enlist the cooperation of officials dealing with health, agriculture and local government problems. Through the children, more effective contacts with the parents would be established. Parents would learn to appreciate the practical value of education to their children and themselves, and a better link between school and community would be forged.

The inauguration of a revised curriculum and better teaching methods will require a prior reorientation of the training given to teachers. The curricula of Training Colleges should be recast radically in order to reduce the present excessive number of subjects and to bring the training nearer to the realistic conditions of the rural or urban areas for which the teachers are being trained. Colleges for training rural teachers should be located in rural areas where students can study rural problems and can actively participate in rural community life. Every Training College should have a demonstration school in which it should have the latitude to work out new teaching methods. At present such Colleges tend to be omnibus educational institutions which give too little time to the professional training of teachers.

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Intermediate and Secondary Education

873 The Mission has given great emphasis to primary schooling because it is convinced that the education base should be broadened. In the past education in Iraq has been too much like an inverted pyramid in which more attention has been paid to education at the higher stages than at the primary levels. This does not mean, of course, that intermediate and secondary education should not be allowed to develop at the same rate as in the past. As far as possible, however, the establishment of intermediate and secondary schools in rural areas should be given priority over those in urban areas, for such schools will be needed to produce candidates for the rural Training Colleges. The revision of the curriculum in these schools is of equal if not greater importance than in the case of primary schools. The present need is for a type of education which, in the words of Dr. Jamali, "prepares the citizens for better living and not one which produces men for white collar jobs with superficial learning, men who want to be government officials and clerks and not leaders and artisans in the fields of agriculture, commerce and social service."

Adult Education

871 Adult education has been largely neglected. There are some night schools operated by Teachers' Associations and the Ministry, but the syllabus of such schools is the same as that of corresponding schools for children. There are also a few adult literacy centers which concentrate on teaching adults to read and write.

The Mission urges that a program for adult education be drawn up and directed by a Special Division of Fundamental Education in the Ministry of Education. Such a program would be directed primarily to those groups in the population between 12 and 45 years of age. It would stress the acquisition of literacy, not as an end in itself but rather as a means to the acquisition of practical knowledge of the fundamental problems of better living. It is useless to teach people how to read and write unless by this means they can be shown how to work more effectively for their own good. For this reason a new and broader approach to education, different from the traditional schoolroom methods used to teach

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children, is required. This approach has been characterized by UNESCO as "fundamental education":

> "The main purpose of fundamental education is to help people to understand their immediate problems and to give them the skills to solve them through their own efforts. It is an emergency solution designed to help masses of illiterate adults and children in countries whose educational facilities have been inadequate. It is an attempt to salvage a generation by giving it the minimum of education needed to improve its way of life, its health, its productivity and its social, economic and political organization."[6]

This concept of education lays emphasis not only on the dissemination of practical training in health, hygiene, civics, agriculture, etc., but also on the employment of more modern media of communication such as audio-visual aids.

In a properly phased program of adult education an initial period of at least two years will need to be devoted to preparatory work and pilot projects. A small group of selected and specially trained teachers will be needed to test various educational techniques in a few pilot projects. The localities in which the program will be started will have to be selected and the cooperation of local leaders and officials enlisted. The subject of fundamental education will need to be incorporated in the curriculum of teachers' training colleges. Above all, suitable materials including primers, books, folders and visual aids such as films, slides, charts and maps will have to be assembled. UNESCO could give valuable assistance. In fact, it has already conducted a pilot project in the Dujaila area. Materials could also be borrowed and adapted from other countries such as India.

In the following three-year period the actual program might be begun by utilizing about 120, or approximately 10 percent, of existing schools also as evening community centers for adult education. A few schools might initially be chosen in each province so that these could serve as models and observation centers for other teachers. The program would be feasible only if the existing teacher corps were used also for adult education. It is impor-

[6] UNESCO *Courier*, June 1951.

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tant therefore to enlist their enthusiastic cooperation, for it would presumably not be possible to pay them more than a nominal amount in supplementary compensation. The efforts of these teachers would need to be complemented by assistance from other local officials in giving talks, demonstrating techniques, and showing materials on health, agriculture, irrigation, etc. Finally, in the following 10-year period, all of the remaining schools would gradually come into use as adult education centers. In the end the schools should become genuine community centers. In the smaller towns and villages, in particular, they should serve as the focal point for all instruction and as a center for community social life.

Administration

The program outlined above could not be carried out without some revision in the administration of the educational system. The present administration is too highly centralized. Everything is directed in minute detail from the center. As a consequence courses of instruction and methods of teaching are stereotyped and there is little or no opportunity for experimentation. The Ministry at Baghdad is so burdened with administrative detail that it cannot give adequate attention to policy and planning. More of the administrative routine should be handled by the provincial officials of the Ministry and headmasters should be given greater discretion in adapting curricula to local needs. While the time is not ripe to entrust responsibility for education to the provinces and municipalities, it is important that every effort be made to enlist the active assistance and cooperation of local officials and leaders in agriculture, commerce, industry and religion. They could assist in stimulating interest in the program and mobilizing voluntary contributions to its success. They could help, for instance, in organizing local parent cooperation and interest, in contributing equipment to schools and in providing meals and clothing for needy school children.

Continuity in educational policy has been seriously impaired in the past not only by frequent ministerial changes but also by frequent replacement of leading officials in the Ministry. Such officials should in the future be assured more permanent tenure. The Mission also suggests that consideration be given to the establishment of a Statutory Board or Council of Education. Such a Coun-

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cil, consisting of officials and non-officials conversant with different types of educational problems, might give valuable assistance to the Ministry in formulating educational policies and programs and guarding against hasty and ill-considered changes in approved programs.

Training Abroad

A word should finally be said of the Ministry of Education's program for educating Iraqis abroad. During the last 10 years no less than 781 Iraqis were sent abroad for education at government expense. Of these, 234 studied engineering; 53, other technical and industrial subjects; 103, agriculture; 39, commercial subjects; 24, medicine; 56, law; and 272, education. Many of these will be returning over the next few years and will be capable, if given an opportunity, of playing an important role in carrying out the development program. This type of educational program undoubtedly merits further expansion. At present the fields of study are decided by the Council of Ministers upon the recommendations of the various ministries. In the future it is suggested that the Development Board also be consulted on the most important requirements in the light of its overall program.

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654[m] 433 pumps. In other respects industrial development would be geared to supply the growing demand for consumers goods, such as shoes, textiles and utensils, and for construction materials, such as cement, arising out of the development program itself.

654[n] 439 Rising agricultural and industrial output will necessitate a corresponding increase in transport capacity. Here the development of road transport and the replacement of wornout track, locomotives and rolling stock will be the principal tasks of the future.

654[n] 671 744 Since the relationship of health and education to production may appear more indirect, there is danger that these two subjects will be neglected in the emphasis on greater national output. Basically, however, it is the productivity of manpower which must be raised, and this can be achieved only if measures are taken to make people better educated and to free them from debilitating disease. In the future the public health effort must concentrate on the prevention of disease through such measures as increasing the number of village dispensaries, the training of midwives, the organization of a corps of sanitarians, elimination of stagnant and polluted water, provision of safe water supplies and sewage disposal, slum clearance and better housing. Community planning should focus largely on such improvements as will contribute to better public health. A great broadening of the educational effort is needed in the future to teach people how to cope more effectively with the problems of everyday living. To this end, compulsory primary education should be gradually introduced over the next 15 years and a vigorous campaign for the education of adults should be launched. At the same time, however, it is vitally important to adapt education to the practical needs of the people, helping them to improve their health and their methods of work.

654[k] The program which the Mission has outlined in this report is undoubtedly ambitious. It requires a rate of progress unprecedented for a country which for many centuries remained virtually static and which over recent decades has developed at a relatively slow pace. There is no assurance that the program can be carried out over the next five years. Yet the Mission has thought it important to set up targets, even ambitious targets, toward which the country can strive. If successful, the program will bring about a

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Expansion of Health Education

565 511 751 Iraq has a small, wealthy upper class and a small middle class. The great majority of the people are poor and ignorant, most especially in regard to health measures. Health education is badly needed and there is no doubt that the people would respond readily to teaching. Large groups enthusiastically attended all the shows put on for the health week held in Diwaniya province; competitions for the best eating-house, butcher's shop and barber's shop were keenly contested and visitors thronged to see the model house and the medical exhibition. The oil company in Kirkuk employs a British sanitary inspector and the Railways Administration in Baghdad recently sent their Iraqi sanitary inspector to take a course of study in the United Kingdom. The response of the householders in these places to sanitary measures is striking; their pride in their homes is obvious and the absence of flies conspicuous.

751 ●871 To begin with, every doctor should have a thorough understanding of the relation of environmental factors to disease. Greater emphasis on the teaching of preventive medicine and particularly of social medicine in the medical school, as has already been recommended, would help to inculcate a wider appreciation of the importance of the preventive outlook in all medical work. Like doctors, nurses have a unique opportunity to teach their patients, and personal and domestic hygiene should take their proper place in the training courses for nurses. Every hospital should be an object lesson in hygiene and every patient should learn by his stay in it.

Health education must be given an important place in the curriculum of the teachers' training schools, and special courses in the prevention of the diseases associated with irrigation and cultivation should be included in the syllabus of the School of Agriculture and of the School of Engineering.

Hygiene is already taught in the schools but ought to be given greater emphasis. Personal hygiene is essentially a matter of habit formation and young school children should be trained in good habits as a daily routine. Special classes could be given in the prevention of the main endemic diseases—possibly, in some cases, by the school medical officer. It is for the Health Department to

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decide what should be taught and then the educators can decide how it should be taught.

In the villages, the school buildings could sometimes serve as models for house-building; in any case, every school should in itself be a lesson in hygiene. Well-balanced meals are provided in the boarding schools and serve as examples for the home. Possibly the elder girls could be taught some "mothercraft", the treatment of minor ailments (cuts, abrasions, etc.), some sewing and also some domestic economy.

At present the *School Medical Service* is administered by the Ministry of Education and has a staff of 20 doctors and four dentists. In the school year 1949-50, 147,084 pupils were examined revealing splenomegaly among two percent, schistosomiasis in five percent, and trachoma in 25 percent, while 40,767 attendances were made for dental treatments. To carry out an effective program for treatment of trachoma, more school nurses will be needed.

There are several *other groups* through which health education can be disseminated. Police training schools and prisons, including reformatories, offer good opportunities for teaching health. The Central Prison in Baghdad is a good example of cleanliness and orderliness. The Army should teach in its officer training courses that the promotion and maintenance of the health of an officer's unit is his first duty.

A few voluntary societies are now undertaking some health education, but the scope of their work could be greatly increased, particularly in maternal and child welfare and in the prevention of tuberculosis. Special pronouncements could be prepared by religious societies for reading in the mosques (e.g. against the pollution of water supplies as a measure to limit the spread of schistosomiasis). Simple health notes written in the vernacular would be of help where a local newspaper is published. Short talks could be given from the national broadcasting station.

There is a great opportunity for health teaching in the projected new settlements. The staff required for such work are medical assistants, sanitary overseers, midwives and possibly public health nurses who, after having received appropriate training, will work in and from one or more village health centers.

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Compulsory primary education is the only way to broaden the educational base. Without it illiteracy can never really be stamped out and the people given the means of acquiring the practical knowledge which will enable them to raise their standard of living through their own efforts. Similarly, adult education is necessary if nearly the whole of the present generation beyond primary school age is not to remain illiterate and be denied the opportunity to learn ways and means of improving their living conditions. The need for vocational and technical education should require no detailed justification in a country where the lack of technical skills seems to be one of the most serious obstacles to rapid development.

II. Introduction of Compulsory Primary Education

It is sometimes argued that the country is not yet ripe for the introduction of compulsory primary education and also that, if the government provides the educational facilities, it will be sufficient to rely on voluntary school attendance. Judging from the testimony not only of educational officers, but of many men in public and private life, the Mission believes that there is a widespread conviction that the time is ripe for a big advance in the direction of compulsory education. This opinion is also reflected in a number of recent reports and educational publications, including the Report of the Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1946 to draw up a Ten Year Plan for Education, and Clark's Report prepared in 1950. A striking testimony to this awakened public consciousness is provided by the fact, revealed by Directors of Education in several provinces, that in many villages without schools, local people (and the local landholders in some cases) were prepared to construct school buildings provided the Ministry of Education was willing to find the teachers.

Compulsory vs. Voluntary Attendance

This does not mean, however, that the problem of universal education will be solved simply by creating adequate educational facilities. First of all, the government must plan a school-building and teacher-training program in advance, and this can take place

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871 only in relation to some predetermined goal. The Mission considers that this goal should be to bring primary education to all children of school age; currently they number about 750,000 but only 175,000 are actually in school. Despite the growing recognition of the value of education, it would be unrealistic to suppose that this goal could be achieved without compulsory attendance. In many cases the value of education will be appreciated only after children are brought into contact with it through some measure of compulsion. This will be true particularly of education in rural [562] areas and of education of girls. In 1948-49, for instance, there were only 43,000 girls in primary schools as compared with about 132,000 boys. Moreover, compulsory attendance is necessary not merely to get children into school initially but also to make sure they will stay there long enough to acquire permanent literacy and the modicum of basic education necessary to improve and enrich their lives. In the cities educational facilities have been much more easily available than in the country, but without compulsion there has been a sharp drop in attendance with each successive school grade. Dr. Akrawi in his work, *Education in the Arab Countries*, presents figures showing the following distribution of enrollment in primary schools in 1944-45:

Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV	Grade V	Grade VI
32%	18.3%	14.9%	12.8%	11.7%	10.1%

This suggests that there is a high percentage of wastage in the first year and that the roll in Grade VI is less than one third of that in Grade I. In fact, there were only 9,500 children in Grade VI as compared with 22,000 in Grade I six years before. More recent figures for certain specific areas show some improvement but it is not so marked as to alter the general situation. Thus, in the city of Baghdad where educational awakening is greatest and educational facilities most generous, out of 6,970 children in Grade I in 1945-46, only 5,315 passed on to Grade II in 1947-48 and 3,587 to Grade VI in 1950-51; i.e., about 50 percent dropped out before completing the primary stage. In the city of Kerbela only 209 out of 645 children in Grade I reached Grade VI, a wastage of about 66 percent.

The investment in the education of children who remain in school no more than three years represents a dead loss. Even that

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devoted to children who drop out in the last three years must be regarded as at least a partial loss. Enlightened educational opinion all over the world is agreed that six to seven years is the minimum period in which a child can acquire the basic modicum of knowledge, skills, habits, interests and social attitudes necessary for civilized living in a modern community. The Iraq Government has prescribed six years as the period of primary schooling, but the objective is obviously not being achieved if more than half the children are eliminated, for one reason or another, before completing this period. 871 ●

The Quality and Orientation of Education

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It is sometimes contended that a program of nation-wide education should be postponed until the quality of education is considerably improved. While the Mission does not support this contention, it is firmly convinced that education will not win the support of the people or have any perceptible impact on their lives unless it is given a new orientation. It is, therefore, necessary to take simultaneous measures for the improvement of education—its methods and techniques, its curricula, its organization and administration and, above all, its personnel and their ideology and outlook. Education, as it is provided at present, is concerned with only a part of the child's development. It leaves a large area of his aptitudes and his mental and emotional make-up untouched.

In the proposed reconstruction of education, it will be most important to give it a more practical, realistic and rural bias in order to relate it intelligently to the psychological and social needs of the individual child and the adult society. It is a well-known fact of child psychology that the child is by nature an active, pragmatic person who delights in doing, creating, playing and generally expressing himself in various practical ways which grow increasingly purposeful with age. Unfortunately, the primary and secondary schools as well as training colleges at present seem to be hardly aware of the basic importance of bringing education into harmony with this crucial fact of child psychology. In fact, with the exception of a school handwork exhibition at Baquba, a promising display of handwork specimens in the Primary Teachers' Training College in Baghdad and some quite good examples of stitching and embroidery and the like in a few girls' schools, the schools were

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871 876 [517 181] found to be entirely preoccupied with the classical and literary tradition. It is true that the Arab mind has a flair for language and literature and delights in oral self-expression, and young children learn to read and write quickly and speak with a fluency and feeling for words which children of other lands would find difficult to emulate. But with the increased importance of science and technology and the need of improving productive efficiency in industry, agriculture and other occupations, the people of Iraq cannot afford to remain content with a system of education which does not equip the younger generation to play its part in the projected plans of development.

Once educational authorities clearly recognize that the introduction of activity-centered methods and curricula and of craft work is basic to the whole idea of educational reconstruction, it should not be difficult to work out the necessary measures. In many other countries, such a reorientation of education has been actually achieved, and not only detailed theoretical discussion but records of concrete, practically worked-out schemes are available for consultation and guidance. It will, of course, not be possible—and even if it were possible, it would not be desirable—to copy these methods and schemes mechanically, because education is a creative field in which ideas have to be applied to the particular situation in which one is working. It will be necessary for Iraqi educators to work out their own pattern of "activity schools" and their appropriate forms of craft work. In fact, some gifted educators have already envisaged this problem in its true perspective. Dr. Matta Akrawi's thesis on *Curriculum Construction in the Public Primary Schools of Iraq* (published in 1942) is an effective presentation of the case for reorganized methods and curricula breaking with the narrow academic tradition. What is more, it gives concrete instances of how units in social studies and health education can be worked out in such a way as to break down the barriers between schooling and life.

What kind of crafts can be introduced in the village and city schools which will appeal to the children and will also be related to their environment so that they can leave school with trained skill and aptitudes and participate effectively in the work of their communities? The answer to this question can be given only after

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study, but two important considerations should be kept in mind. The crafts should be as varied as possible and linked to local occupations, and they should make maximum use of cheap local materials so that the cost of their introduction will not be too high. The object would not be to produce trained craftsmen, but to make children adept at working with their hands, to give them an opportunity for creative expression and to inculcate an appreciation of the value of manual labor. For the same reason the teachers need not be specialists in individual crafts, but people who are handy with tools, can work with different materials and in different media, and have a general understanding of the principles, objectives and methods of craft work by children.

In rural schools in particular, it is important to have small plots of land for gardening and agriculture where children can learn simple agricultural processes and the care of livestock as well as the use of tools. They should also have the opportunity to visit any government demonstration farms in the neighborhood. In order to insure that rural schools really cater to rural needs it will be necessary to draw more teachers from rural areas and to establish more rural training colleges where effective practical as well as theoretical training is given in agricultural subjects. More rural secondary schools with a dominantly agricultural bias in their curricula are also needed. They can serve the dual function of providing teacher candidates with suitable education and background and also of providing centers for agricultural extension work in the neighborhood.

One of the primary objectives of the reorientation of education should be to challenge children to meet the problems of their environment squarely instead of running away from them. A school is not just a place for academic learning or even a combination of academic and practical work. It is essentially a community where young people should learn the basic art of living through actual experience. It should afford opportunities for cooperative and group work, for leadership and discipline, and at the same time place before the children projects and activities which will enable them to understand the problems which dominate the life of their local, and later national, community. The school should inculcate an appreciation of the value and dignity of hard, manual work. In

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876 this way the school can contribute to a much needed spirit of social service among children and youth at various stages of education. Thus a school lesson will become a living experience and bridges will be thrown across the gulf that exists between education and life to their mutual advantage and enrichment. These may appear, to the layman or the traditionally minded teacher, to be rather theoretical and remote considerations. But unless school problems are envisaged in these broad terms, the school will never become a dynamic and life-giving agency for the nation. And in fact, these considerations have been incorporated to varying degrees in the educational systems of many advanced countries and in many progressive schools.

In any reorientation of educational methods there must also be a simplification of the syllabus. The tendency has been to overload the syllabus with many subjects, all of which the child is expected to memorize primarily for the purpose of passing examinations. In the primary schools there are nine or ten subjects; in the secondary schools the total goes to 10-12; and in the training colleges as many as 15 different subjects are taught in one year. The contents of the existing syllabus in each subject and at each stage of education must be critically re-examined in the light of individual and social needs, and curricular cargo which is merely traditional and outdated must be thrown overboard. The Ministry is itself aware of this situation, and well-informed educators and some committees appointed in recent years to examine primary and secondary school curricula have drawn attention to this urgent problem. Dr. Matta Akrawi's thesis, to which reference has already been made, formulates comprehensively and soundly the principles which should guide workers in this field and provides practical illustration of what can be done. Care must be taken to vary the syllabus in accordance with local needs and to leave the teachers some opportunity for experimentation. For example, in bringing educational facilities to the nomads and the remote villagers, it must be remembered that the needs of the children and the adults living in these more primitive communities are different and in many ways more limited than those of the more sophisticated urban residents on whom the impact of modern civilization has been more direct and greater. It is, therefore, essential that the

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Ministry prepare a simplified syllabus and curriculum for such rural areas. It should concentrate on the basic essentials of knowledge and skills related to everyday living that can be easily grasped. This applies both to the school program for children in schools and to the program of fundamental education for adults.

Steps Toward Compulsory Primary Education

Many problems and difficulties will undoubtedly arise in enforcing compulsory education, but once the need is recognized and the policy agreed upon, attention can be concentrated on solving them. Public opinion in certain regions and groups will have to be educated; a careful survey of each locality will be needed to assess the existing educational provision as well as future needs; an effective administrative and supervisory organization will have to be established; some special provision will have to be made for children who cannot afford books or midday meals or whose parents want their help in work on their farms; and, most of all, the type of education to be provided will have to be related intelligently to the real needs of rural or urban life so that the children, as well as their parents, may feel that it is really worth their while and perceptibly useful. The special problems and difficulties of Bedouin education will have to be carefully examined.

Fortunately, a good deal of exploratory work of a theoretical nature has been done and, as already pointed out, a number of valuable studies are available which offer useful suggestions in all these fields. The Report of the Monroe Commission lays down general principles of educational reorganization, some of which have special relevance for primary education; Clark's Report is a good and careful, if rather unduly cautious, study of the issues involved in the introduction of compulsion; Dr. Jamali's book, *The Education of the Bedouins,* is a sympathetic and penetrating study of the whole sociological and psychological background of this problem; Dr. Akrawi's thesis on curriculum construction tackles competently the question of how the curriculum can be related dynamically to "the political, economic, social, hygienic and educational conditions and problems of the country;" and the Departmental Ten Year Plan and certain reports of other government committees endorse to some extent the various suggestions made in these studies. Theory has yet to be translated into practice,

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V. Administration

It is an obvious truism that no educational policy or program can be implemented with any chance of success unless there is reasonable stability in the administration and approved schemes are carried on without being affected by ministerial changes and the varying fortunes of party politics. Such, however, has not been the case in the country during the last few decades. There have been quick changes not only of government but also, and in consequence, in the higher administrative personnel of the Ministry of Education. It has been calculated, for instance, that during the 18 years between 1927 and 1945, there were 14 different Directors General of Education, although the post is supposed to be permanent and the person in charge is expected to work as the head of the administration. The Departmental Committee which formulated the Ten Year Plan has itself rightly and courageously drawn attention to this distressing situation; its report points out that frequent changes of Ministers has led to instability in personnel and programs and that officials at the Ministry have often been too weak to defend programs and policies before successive Ministers who wished to make changes before they had been long enough in office to study the needs of the situation carefully. The Mission believes, therefore, that the government should take immediate steps to insure that there is reasonable stability of administration in the Ministry so that, once basic educational policies and programs are approved, they are not subject to change without mature consideration. In order to secure this objective, the following measures relating to the operation of the Ministry of Education are put forward:

1. A statutory Board or Council of Education, consisting of appropriate officials and nonofficials conversant with different types of educational problems, should be established to assist the Ministry of Education in the formulation of educational policies and programs and to guard against the possibility of hasty and ill-considered changes or the abandonment of approved programs. If the Board is created by statute, its constitution and personnel will not be easily upset as an incident of changes in the Ministry.

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2. There should be a permanent secretary in continuous charge of the Ministry and reporting directly to the Minister. He ought to be a qualified and experienced educator who would serve as a connecting link between successive Ministers and thus help to assure reasonable continuity of policy. The government might consider whether to merge the existing position of Director General of Education with that of permanent secretary or to have two separate positions. In any event, the present arrangement, under which separate and independent Directors General of primary, secondary and higher education work directly under the Minister, is administratively and educationally unsound and makes integration and coordination of educational effort extremely difficult.

3. An effort should be made to build up within the Ministry a body of competent educators, possessing vision and enthusiasm as well as experience, and enjoying reasonable security of tenure, who would specialize in different aspects of education. They should be able to speak with authority and confidence in their respective fields and guide and advise teachers in all types of schools. If they are to do so, it is essential that they be relieved of much of the petty administrative detail which at present hinders them from devoting themselves to larger issues. This would involve a certain amount of delegation of power to local educational officers, which would need to be carefully worked out but which is sound in principle.

4. It is certainly desirable to associate local administration and influential local persons with the working out of the program that the Mission has recommended. Such association will go a long way to stimulate public interest and cooperation in education. The Mission is, however, of the opinion that, at this stage, this assistance should be enlisted chiefly in an advisory capacity and that the over-all direction and supervision of the new and far-reaching educational reforms and measures should remain in the hands of the Ministry for the present. The Mission strongly questions the wisdom of the steps recently taken to entrust the provincial councils with the responsibility for primary education. Experience in other countries has shown that a sudden devolution of authority to local administration may lead to serious complications and difficulties and endanger the success of the entire program. This should not be taken to imply that many of the functions and powers which are at present exercised by the officials at the center need not be delegated, say, to the

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Directors of Education. It is meant rather as a warning against transferring the supervision and control and the general responsibility for compulsory or adult education to local bodies or officials who have had little or no experience in dealing with such problems.

The people in each locality should unquestionably be given a sense of participation in the educational effort. The Mission has already stressed the importance of enlisting local support for the introduction of compulsory primary education and the inauguration of adult education. Local participation can take the form of voluntary self-help through the provision of free midday meals, books and stationery, or shoes and clothing to needy children, improvements in school equipment and school gardens and the like. Local self-help in constructing or adding to school buildings should also be encouraged.

VI. Conclusion

The Mission has considered already the financial implications of the educational program and has expressed the view that it is within the resources of the state—actual and potential—to undertake the suggested program of educational expansion and reconstruction. It trusts that the government will definitely adopt the view that increased expenditure on education is a long-range productive investment likely to give the country a generous return in the form of a more prosperous, cooperative, socially conscious and enlightened population. This return is no less real, though less tangible, than those that may be expected from investments in industry or even agriculture. Thus it requires courage and vision to make a large investment in education, for the purpose not only of multiplying schools, but also of raising the quality of education they provide.

The Mission's approach in the educational field is founded on the conviction that education is one of the most important means of raising production levels and living standards and thereby assuring the economic health of the country. It is for this reason that the Mission has given it a high priority in its recommended projects for development. If national development is to be balanced and har-

8:Campbell T-5 (no date) 1949 MH1 Iraq MH1

178 life in the tribes is changing year by year. The pumping
406 engines owned by every tribe send thousands of tons of
871 the brown waters of the Euphrates down the irrigation channels to make the land fertile and green. Education is spreading to the tribes, and an increasing number of tribesmen hold jobs of every sort in the railways, the port, and the oil companies. Many tribesmen from the Euphrates drove trucks on the great Aid to Russia route through Persia during the war. Others could be found serving the Allied war effort as far apart as Masira at the end of the Persian Gulf and Haifa.

With this development going on all around him, it is not surprising that the amusements of the tribesman are changing. Whereas before he had to amuse himself by listening to stories told by amateur but skilled storytellers, he can now pass the evening listening to a wireless set driven off the battery of his sheikh's or his sirkal's saloon car, or better still, he can jump a bus or lorry into the nearest village and watch an Egyptian, Indian, or American film. In this atmosphere it is not surprising that the stories are dying out, and now only a few of the older men know them. These stories fulfilled a need in the days in which the tribes were in constant conflict with the Turkish Government, and in which facilities for written Arabic literature did not exist. Now, in more prosperous times, they must die out. I would stress that the stories were never considered as belonging to any great school of Arabic literature—they were simple little things, either originated by the tribesmen themselves or adapted from some more ancient story, and their intention was merely to evoke a smile on an arduous march, or to help pass a cold desert night; and so they must be judged.

000 To those who want the real beauty of a precise language, I say that this can be found in written classical Arabic,

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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Since the Palestine conflict the main features of Iraq's external relations have been: (1) the possibility of union between Iraq and Syria and, immediately after the assassination of King Abdullah, between Iraq and Jordan. The former possibility, apparently within measurable distance under the Hinawi regime in Syria, was blocked by the coup d'état of Adib Shishakli, and the latter by the stand of Tawfiq Abul-Huda and the disapproval of the Western and other Arab Powers. (2) An unpopular draft agreement with Egypt in 1950 binding both parties not to intervene in Syrian affairs for five years, and binding Iraq to consult Egypt in the case of an agreement with any third Power (this was considered derogatory to the honour and independence of Iraq and brought about the fall of the Cabinet); (3) Nuri Said's statesmanlike attempt in 1951 to mediate in the Anglo-Egyptian dispute in co-operation with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan; (4) consideration of the four-Power Middle East Defence scheme, towards which the attitude of successive Governments has varied, falling short equally of acceptance and rejection, while opposition elements have displayed varying degrees of hostility to it and considerable sympathy towards the formation of a neutral Arab bloc; and (5) the ratification in March 1952 of the Arab States' Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation Pact. In some quarters the idea of a bloc has been extended to include Pakistan and sometimes India, being conceived as an Islamic or mid-Asiatic entity which should supplement and even supplant the Arab League.

Present Political Situation

Events in Palestine, Syria, Persia, and Egypt and the economic difficulties of a great part of the population have intensified the underlying ferment of the post-war period, which stern and continued action against Communism and incipient plans for national development have not so far availed to counteract. The rural majority, it is true, is still politically inert and merely lends its voting power to the landowners and tribal chiefs, but the spread of education is increasing the number of politically-conscious and under-privileged young townsmen who have provided, without much confidence in their efficiency or integrity, almost the sole support for the parties of extreme opposition. These parties have been constant in their denunciation of successive Governments as the tools of feudalism and imperialism, the more bitterly and irresponsibly for the realization that there is no foreseeable likelihood of their coming to power or even of influencing policy except at moments of crisis

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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helminthosis are endemic. There are occasional outbreaks of smallpox, typhus, and more rarely plague and cholera. With the greater provision in the budget for schemes of public health, the increased employment of international specialists and the considerable assistance tendered by the World Health Organization, there is every prospect that the incidence of endemic diseases will be greatly reduced. Fundamental results may be expected from modern medical training, with emphasis on the environmental aspects of disease and the need for prevention as much as or even more than cure, and, above all, from the efforts of the administration to improve the environment itself, with especial reference to drainage and water-supply. In addition, attention is to be paid to the public health aspects of the pilgrimages. The curative services have in general received more attention than the preventive and have improved considerably in the past thirty years. Simple conditions are treated in some 400 state dispensaries, distributed fairly evenly throughout the country but varying in their equipment and staff; it has hitherto proved difficult to attract doctors to the provinces and particularly to the rural districts. Each *liwa* centre has a general hospital, the larger towns more than one. There are also specialized hospitals for maternity and child welfare, for infectious, chest, eye, venereal, and mental diseases, and for lepers. The army, police, railways, Port of Basra, Ministry of Education, and oil companies maintain their own medical services and hospitals, and there are in addition an American Mission Hospital and a number of private nursing homes. A five-year programme, financed by the Development Board, will provide for the repair, extension, and replacement of medical buildings which have become old or inadequate. There is an acute shortage of well-trained nurses; attempts to expand the service are hampered by the reluctance of Muslim girls of good family to enter it.

Education

The state provides elementary, intermediate, secondary, and higher education, all, since December 1952, completely free. There are also private and foreign schools on a kindergarten, elementary, intermediate, and secondary level.

State Education. Primary education, by law universal and compulsory where facilities exist, begins at the age of six and continues for six years. It has been limited by a shortage of schools and trained teachers, especially in the villages. Plans are in hand to meet the need. The rapid expansion of state primary education is demonstrated in the following table:

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Year	*No. of schools*	*No. of teachers*	*No. of students*
1920–1	88	486	8,001
1930–1	316	1,325	34,513
1940–1	735	3,525	90,794
1950–1	1,101	6,367	180,779

(SOURCE: Ministry of Education.)

Intermediate education (three years) follows the elementary and is followed by two years' secondary education. The number of state intermediate and secondary schools is also being rapidly increased, as the following figures indicate.

Year	*No. of schools*	*No. of teachers*	*No. of students*
1920–1	3	34	110
1930–1	19	129	2,082
1940–1	56	472	13,969
1950–1	121	999	22,707

(SOURCE: Ministry of Education.)

Private and Foreign Schools. The former include those of the various religious communities, the latter British, American, and Persian schools. Figures for 1953 show an enrolment of some 15,500 pupils in the primary schools and 10,000 in the intermediate and secondary schools, representing about 6 and 25 per cent respectively of the total enrolment in the country.

Higher Education. The higher educational institutions, some 873
of them coeducational, all under state control, are: Higher Training College for Teachers, College of Arts and Science, Law College, College of Medicine and Dentistry, College of Pharmacy and Chemistry, College of Commerce and Economics, Engineering College, Agricultural College, College of Religion, Military and Police Colleges, and Queen Aliya College, which provides girls with arts and, to some extent, secretarial instruction or prepares them for domestic science teaching and the expanding social services. The total number of students in these institutions is at present approximately 5,000. Figures for previous years are as follows: 1920–1 (one college) 65; 1930–1 (four colleges) 100; 1940–1 (four colleges) 900.[1] It is hoped in the near future to implement a proposal now under discussion for combining the higher institutions into a university.

Vocational Training. State vocational training on a secondary 874
level, whose extension is being planned, may at present be divided as follows. *Industrial:* Government technical schools in Baghdad, Kirkuk, and Basra, with another planned for Mosul. The Agricultural Machinery Department of the Ministry of Agriculture is planning to establish training centres for mechan-

[1] Figures given by the Ministry of Education.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

463 each kind of goods has its special section of the bazaar.
565 The brass- and copper-smiths' quarter rings like a small
441 boiler factory all day long. The artisans who are engaged in producing these commodities form a considerable section of the Mesopotamian city population and are fairly prosperous and contented, much more so than the date gardeners of the outside districts. Supreme over them all stands the Mesopotamian silver worker, whose antimony silver work can scarcely be duplicated anywhere in the world.

463 The professional classes in these Mesopotamian cities
871 are fairly well developed. There are teachers of every
794 sort. Some of them have been trained abroad, but many
177 are indigenous and a very great credit to the schools that have turned them out. There are a number of government schools, and in addition the different religious sects maintain schools of their own. In these days when western education is in great demand, the schools of the Jews and the Christians are patronized by an increasing number of Mohammedans. No local medical profession has
463 been developed as yet, but the wealth and the culture of
759 Mosul, Baghdad and Basra have attracted a considerable number of trained physicians from outside. We have therefore the beginnings of a medical profession, and although it is not yet indigenous, it will soon become so. Its ethics are not of a very high order; the campaign of the American College of Surgeons to abolish fee-splitting would not make much headway among Mesopotamian doctors, but time will develop ethical standards, and at the worst the profession is a long way in advance
463 of the quacks that infest Arabia proper. There is also a
693 well-established group of lawyers. One of the results of the governing of the country for hundreds of years by

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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Unfortunately the fact that this work is practical benevolence of the finest sort and carried on in the finest spirit has not served to commend sanitary regulations to the Arab, who regards them as a nuisance, a hindrance to business and an infringement of his personal liberty.

Mesopotamia has also grappled with the whole problem of education most courageously. An educational system has been organized which includes normal schools for teachers and a large number of primary and secondary schools for both boys and girls. There are a smaller number of high schools, and a central university is planned. Fifteen years ago the dominant European influence in this community was French, and no one could claim to be educated who could not talk that language fluently. There was a marked change a little later, and before the Great War German was the commanding influence. Now, of course, the predominant western influence is English, and it seems likely to remain so, for commerce will probably talk the English language for many years, whatever political upheavals the country may be destined to experience. It is true that the educational system has not as yet taken very deep root and that much of the work done is very superficial, but it is none the less exceedingly creditable and encouraging. Moreover, this western system of education will probably be more or less permanent, for it will always be the gateway to remunerative positions.

In general, the people of Mesopotamia have been brought into contact with conditions of modern life and are anxious for further progress. New wants have been created, and a certain increase in the commerce of the country is the inevitable result. All manner of western dress goods and shoes are to be found in the bazaars, as

20: . Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
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563 economically dependent on the British. Quite apart from the economic dangers of this, there were signs that they once more hoped for autonomy under British protection. The danger of such hopes is too obvious to need explanation.

The Other Christians

563 Apart from the Assyrians, the Christians in Iraq are mainly
195 Chaldaeans, Syrian Orthodox and Catholics, and Armenian Orthodox and Catholics, with smaller numbers of Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics and other Uniates, and Protestants. The communities are recognized by the Government as possessing competence in matters of personal status and other internal affairs.

563 Here, as in the other countries, the Christians are more fully
369 an urban community than the Moslems, and show a peculiar
871 aptitude for commerce, crafts and he professions; but there is also a large peasant community, Chaldaean, Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholic, in the plains around Mosul. In Iraq, as elsewhere, the proportion of educated Christians is higher than that of educated Moslems, and they are further advanced on the road to Westernization, thanks to the work of foreign missions and schools.

563 The Armenians are a trading community in the towns. They preserve their language and traditions carefully, but they are too few to be able to avoid some measure of external assimilation. The other Christians are partly Syriac-speaking, partly Arabic. This cannot, however, be regarded as a sharp distinction, since the language used depends upon the environment in which they are living, and many of them are bi-lingual. In general, it is true that those whose native language is now Arabic spoke Syriac until recent generations, and that with few exceptions they are not conscious of belonging to the Arab nation.

563 In spite of efforts to spread the conception of a 'Syriac'
668 people, the general tendency among the Christians is towards at least a superficial Arabization. This raises the question of their relation towards the Arab nationalist movement. So far, they have regarded it with fear and hostility, apart from some individuals who have supported it with enthusiasm. The nationalists too have tended to suspect them, although the existence of the much greater Kurdish and Shi'i problems has diverted attention from them. What the future relationship will be depends very

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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511 of the people are even more primitive than their ancestors of several thousand years ago. They live on the ground in mud huts, in the shadows of the stone ruin of their ancestors' homes. They draw water by hand from wells from which water was once pulled by giant water wheels; they irrigate their tiny garden patches with hand scoops where once large canals watered thousands of acres.

[871 212] Despite the progress in education, less than half the children are in school, and only half of those fortunate ones finish the primary grades. In the country as a whole, 80 per cent of the males and 95 per cent of the females are still illiterate.

These people now hope for a new life, a place in the sun again.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

651 382 The internationally-owned oil companies operating in Iraq recently have increased oil output materially and expect by 1955 to be producing at a rate five times above the 1951 level. Half of the profits before taxes will accrue to the Iraq Government, and should amount to about $600 million during the next five years.

647 654 These revenues will be assigned to the Central Development Board, an autonomous agency established to insure greater continuity in the planning and implementation of development programs. An American, Wesley Nelson, formerly Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation in the United States Department of Interior, is a member of the board by invitation of the Iraq Government.

FINANCING

652 654 The Board is following rather closely a development program recommended by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development after its special mission made a detailed study of the Iraq economy at the request of the government. The cost of the suggested five-year program, beginning with fiscal 1952-53, is estimated at approximately $471.8 million to be apportioned as follows:

Project	*In Millions of Dollars*
Flood control, irrigation, and drainage	154.5
Industry	103.6
Transport and communications	86.8
Community Facilities	65.0
Agriculture and Forestry	21.0
Education	17.1
Public Health	14.0
Development Board administration, studies, etc.	4.2
Miscellaneous expenditures	5.6
	471.8

To carry out the program the Development Board would have to spend $42 million in 1952-53 and successively larger sums each year, up to a total of $140 million in 1956-57.[33]

[33] *Economic Development of Iraq.* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1952. p. 63.

59; Allen et al 8-3 (1952-53) 1953 MI Middle East Iraq ms 41

II. THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

A. PRESENT CONDITIONS

369 511 162. The some 4,000,000 more people of Iraq who live the rural areas have been long characterized by many people both within and outside Iraq as suffering from poverty, ill health and illiteracy. These conditions become readily apparent to one visiting the villages of the country today. The characterization of the people can be extended to their being ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed.

369 511 The survey was immediately impressed with the crude and inefficient methods of making a living and the unnecessarily poor and unhealthy home and village life. These conditions can be remedied by instruction and assistance. People farm with primitive equipment and are wasteful of land and water. In village after village there are mud huts without light or fresh air. Families live, sleep and eat in single rooms packed together with animals, food, stores, farming equipment and refuse. Children play in courtyards filled with animal dung and filth, many people suffer from infected eyes, skin sores and diseases caused by unsanitary conditions which could be greatly reduced by better sanitary conditions. In the homes food is prepared on the floors where it comes in contact with the accumulated filth, flies, chickens, dogs and other animals. Pots and pans and mixing spoons lie on the ground. They are crudely cleaned with dirty water or old rags. There are no such things as kitchens, screened lockers for food or clean and covered places for drinking water in the homes of the rural villagers. Instruction in home care could overcome much of this.

369 364 511 The lack of pure drinking water is one of the most acute problems in these villages. Some pumps and water tanks and some water piped from springs to collection pools have been installed. However, these facilities frequently lack sanitary protection and show lack of proper maintenance by the communities. Often wells have around them accumulation of stagnant water, mud and animal dung. Another acute problem is the lack of any facilities in many villages, and homes for taking care of human waste. Where toilets exist they are more uncovered holes open to flies and a source of spreading disease.

369 871 Many villages have not yet received the benefit of schools where children can learn some of the concepts and techniques which would enable them to understand the need for improving their conditions and help their families in doing so. In some villages young girls are not allowed by their elders to attend school or not provided with primary schools, buildings and teachers. Much of a new generation is growing up illiterate and ignorant of how they might help themselves when they grow up.

369 423 471 588 Inquiry among villagers and local officials revealed that although there might be a headman or mukhtar of the village, nearly all direction and management of their affairs comes from outside leadership. Communities lack the local leadership and organization by which they might progress through their own efforts. Shaikhs, landlords, their agents (sirkal) who are frequently local government representatives as well, direct the farming operations, decide the lands on which the villagers will farm and live, provide much of the seed and equipment, direct the cleaning of ditches, collect the shares of crops and other payments and decide whether or not the farmers may live and work on the land during the next year. Even the farmer who owns his own land is not without obligations to money lenders, tax collectors and government supervision. The farmers and tenants of Iraq are dependent upon

369 423 471 511 others almost for life itself. In their position they cannot help themselves, but go on generation after generation at the same poor level of living. There are no committees or councils to represent themselves or which government sources might utilize for participation in family and village development programmes.

369 433 511 Many other problems such as undeveloped village crafts and industries, lack of access roads and marketing facilities might be added. Enough has been described to indicate the great and urgent need for a broad programme for assistance to the rural population of the country. It is recognized that these are not new conditions but part of a way of life that has been characteristic of these people for centuries. The wealth and labour of the land through all these years has been for the welfare of the few who ruled. It has been only within comparatively recent years that the leaders of Iraq have become concerned about or in a position to help in the improvement of rural affairs.

B. CAUSES OF CONDITIONS

369 566 Many factors beside tradition have contributed to the present plight of the rural people. Essentially their problems stem from the lack of security on the land, the lack of financial means or credit to develop their farming or crafts and the lack of knowledge to promote their own advancement.

1. System of Land Tenure

369 423 471 The major and self-evident cause of present poverty is the lack of ownership of land and of any security under the tenant system. The tenant owns no farm or house. He must shift his farming operations or even leave the land as he is directed. Therefore, he has no base on which to build a better life or earn a better income. The small land farmer who owns his own land frequently has an insufficient amount to provide adequate income.

2. Lack of Credit

369 452 566 Credit for the small farmer or tenant is virtually unavailable. Both tenant and small owner are subject to a system of sharecropping or credit which by exorbitant rates leaves them with insufficient balance from their crops for their own subsistence. In fact some tenants receive as little as 20 to 30 per cent of their crop. Small farmers often have to forfeit their lands because they cannot pay off their mortgages and work in the employ of their creditors. Rarely it was found that a small farmer received a loan from the Agricultural Bank.

3. Poor Land Use

369 566 311 The landlord, however, does not always stand to make great profits. He loses more proportionately than the tenant during crop failures when he must provide them with food and receive no return. He loses continually from their inefficient farming methods, their ill-health and limited ability to work and the uses to which he puts his hands.

4. Lack of Knowledge and Training

369 871 212 Especially important among these reasons for poverty is lack of training and information. The rural people are for the most part without education in its broadest and most fundamental sense. First, there is a lack of ability to read and write to obtain more information.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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of peasants and tribesmen are illiterate. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory for both sexes, but the facilities are inadequate, particularly in the rural areas. Recent estimates indicate that the literacy rate in the country as a whole approximates 10 per cent, in contrast with about 40 per cent in Baghdad and the larger cities. Education is controlled by the government, and public instruction is available at all levels from the primary schools through the professional colleges. There is no university in Iraq, but the incorporation of the present colleges into a national institution, with university status, has been proposed. Separate colleges of medicine, pharmacy, law, science, arts, fine arts, engineering, commerce and teachers' training, as well as various types of vocational schools, are supported by the government. Secondary schools are also maintained by private and mission groups. Government scholarships are provided annually to qualified students for study abroad, usually in Egypt, Great Britain or the United States.

Vital Statistics

Valid vital statistics are almost nonexistent, since the registration of births and deaths is admittedly incomplete, even in the principal cities, as Baghdad, Basra and Mosul. The general reluctance of the inhabitants to report births, deaths and other statistical data and the large size of the nomadic and the semimigratory populations are factors contributing to the inaccuracy of the figures available. Within recent years statistics have been compiled by the government health organization in 75 centers under the jurisdiction of medical officers, but they do not reflect conditions throughout the country. In 1950, these health districts covered a population of 1,160,000, distributed in all 14 of the provinces into which Iraq is divided. The birth rate was estimated at 27 per 1,000 population, and the death rate at 12 per 1,000. Competent authorities, however, believe that the over-all birth rate is nearer 40 to 50 per 1,000 popu-

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64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
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creased. Of all the Middle Eastern countries, Iraq has all the necessary requisites for a sound and rapid economic development, especially in the agricultural sector. It has a very considerable quantity of land ready for immediate cultivation, so defined by the most conservative standards, and with modern methods very great stretches now defined as uncultivable could be improved and brought into the cultivable class; it has an abundance of water for irrigation as well as for power, and it has at its disposal enormous quantities of cheap fuel both in petroleum and natural gas.

What, then, have been the economic, educational, health and social conditions of the country? As regards the size and growth of the population, even today, more than thirty years since the creation of the Kingdom of Iraq, it would be very difficult to state categorically the percentage increase of the population. The accuracy of the figure advanced by the October 1947 census has been questioned by the International Bank Mission.[7]

Despite substantial strides in public health—an increased number of hospitals, dispensaries and doctors—during the first thirty years of the existence of the Kingdom, the Bank Mission reported in 1951 that the infant mortality rate was very high, "perhaps as much as 250 per 1,000 births," and that there was a very high incidence of such endemic diseases as trachoma, hookworm, bilharzia, malaria and dysentery. Malaria was reported to cause 50,000 deaths every year. In 1948 no less than 6,657,474 visits to medical institutions for treatment were reported, and 1,291,225 cases of infectious diseases were treated. Of these, 603,698 were malaria and 524,740 trachoma.[8] In 1944 the total number of doctors in the country was 528; in 1951 it was reported that there was one doctor to every 7,000 in the population, which would make a total of about 915 doctors, but a large percentage of them were concentrated in Bagdad.[9]

There can be no doubt that educationally the country progressed considerably from the stage in which it was in 1921, but all in all the sum total was not very impressive; the rate of

[7] International Bank, *Iraq Mission Report*, 128.

[8] *Ibid.*, 49.

[9] *Ibid.*, 53; Hashim Al Witry, *Health Services in Iraq* (1944), 8. In 1945 there were, according to a British report, 569 doctors registered in Iraq. Since 308 were in Bagdad, this made approximately one doctor for every 15,400 in the population in the provinces, and one doctor to every 2,700 in Bagdad. Great Britain, Overseas Economic Survey, *Iraq* (1949), 30-31.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
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871 progress, discouraging both to the educators and to the Iraqi people, reflects on the possibilities of development, which in the final analysis depend on the general educational level of the population. To be sure, in the period 1930-1950 the number of schools rose from 262 to 1,100, the number of pupils from 32,750 to 175,000, and the number of primary school teachers from 1,325 to 6,588; nevertheless, out of about 750,000 children of school age only 175,000 were in schools; the percentage of drop-outs as the children advanced to the higher grades was so large as to cause real alarm. The facilities and quality of technical and vocational education were woefully deficient, and adult education was almost completely neglected. As to the quality of the educational program, the Mission stated: "Educational concepts are far too narrow and too little related to everyday problems of living." But what was most alarming was the fact that as late as 1951 about 90 per cent of the total population was still illiterate.[10]

434 Though possessing so much land, so much water, and considerable revenue from oil, Iraq's standard of living was fairly low. Annual per capita income was estimated in 1949 at about $84 and not much higher in 1953.[11] This compared with $140 for Lebanon, $100 for Syria, $125 for Turkey, $100 for Egypt, and $389 for Israel.

433 [640] Industrial growth advanced at a very slow pace. In order to stimulate the establishment of industry, the Government passed a law in 1929 granting tax relief and other concessions to those who would develop industrial projects, but almost twenty years later the United States Department of Commerce reported that the development of manufacturing industries was still in the embryonic stage.[12] In 1949 it was reported that in spite of the impetus given to local production by the shortage of import goods during the war, Iraq's industries were still underdeveloped.[13] In 1951 the International Bank Mission reported that industry was little developed; that exclusive of those employed by the oil companies, 60,000 workers were engaged in

[10] International Bank, *Iraq Mission Report*, 62-63; "The Economic Development of Iraq," *The Times Review of Industry* (London), Sept., 1953, 93.
[11] U. N., *Review 1949-50*, 12; "The Economic Development of Iraq," *The Times Review of Industry*, Sept., 1953, 93.
[12] U. S., Dept. of Commerce, *International Reference Service*, Dec., 1948, 3.
[13] Great Britain, *Iraq*, 16.

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discussion lies within the Province (liwa) of Erbil. *The civil head of the liwa is Mutasarrif who is directly responsible for the police administration and the magistracy and indirectly for such social services as Health, Education, Agricultural Reform etc. The tax organisation is closely associated with the police and also comes under the administration of the Mutasarrif. Outside his control however are the military and the judiciary.

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Within the field of our discussion the social services of the government are very limited, though the education system is worthy of note. There are primary and secondary schools at Erbil and a primary school at Rowandus. There was for a while a secondary school also at Rowandus but this was closed following a nationalist strike by the students who demanded to be taught in the Kurdish language instead of Arabic. For obvious economic reasons these schools effect only a very small stratum of society - the sons of important Aghas and town merchants. Some of the larger villages have in addition a paid government teacher. Though the intention is good, the practice is less so. The wages offered and the facilities for advancement are so poor that only the very poorest type of indolent scholar offers himself for such posts. In the Balik area anyway the experience of government education has so far proved unfortunate. The current opinion seemed to be that all government education officers are moral perverts. Two examples serve to show the basis for such an attitude. The only schoolmaster among the Balik at the time of my visit was attached to the village of Rayat. Formerly he had been attached to the village of Rust where he had married one of the Agha's daughters; this lady he had now divorced or rather deserted and the Agha of Rust was suing him in the courts for maintenance. In Rayat he had seduced the daughter of the Mulla and to avoid scandal had now married her, but this in itself was a scandalous proceeding since the Mulla and the schoolmaster are regarded as enemies by nature - (since from the traditional viewpoint education is the Mulla's chief function). In another case which is described more fully later the Agricultural Adviser of Walash was murdered,

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* At the time of my visit the post of Mutasarrif of Erbil was held by Ahmad Beg i Taufiq Beg, a Kurd from the relatively sophisticated district of Sulaimani, a man of great intelligence and personal integrity. I am directly indebted to him for the facilities and assistance which enabled me to carry out this piece of field work, the more especially since his own political position at the time was somewhat delicate. Being related by marriage to the chiefs of the Pizdah tribes, at that time in revolt, he was regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by some of the Arab elements in the Baghdad government. This fact, coupled with a mild reputation for being pro-British - by no means a desirable sentiment in modern Iraq, - made my request for travel facilities a decided inconvenience. In the circumstances his help was deeply appreciated.